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STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION:
VI. THE CLICK LANGUAGES

JOSEPH H. GREENBERG

I. THE KHOISAN AREA

SCHAPERA'S CONVENIENT TERM Khoisan, compounded of the Hottentot's term for themselves (Khoi) and their name for the Bushmen (San), will be used here to refer to the group of physically, culturally, and linguistically distinctive peoples which formerly at least, occupied all of the southern portion of Africa. Culturally, two groups are usually distinguished, the cattle-raising Hottentots with a somewhat complex political organization and sense of ethnic distinctness and the hunting, food-gathering Bushmen. Both of these peoples speak languages whose most conspicuous feature is the presence of click-sounds.[1] These sounds are also found in the neighboring Bantu languages of the Zulu and southern Suto where their presence is the result of borrowing from the languages of the Khoisan peoples. In addition, two languages of East Africa, to be discussed below—Sandawe and Hatsa—contain clicks. These sounds are not known to occur anywhere in the world outside of this African area.

The usual view has been that the languages of the Bushmen, which are quite diverse, form a single family. With regard to the Hottentots, there has been

1 The click sounds are velar injectives, that is a velar closure is made simultaneously with one farther forward, labial, as in the Southern Bushmen labial clicks, or by the front or tip of the tongue as in the other clicks. The back of the tongue is then moved back rarifying the air and producing a partial vacuum which is filled by inrushing air when the front closure is released. The subsequent release of the back or velar closure can occur in a variety of ways. The consonants *k, g, h, kh, n,* etc., written after the click symbols in the usual orthography indicate the release as velar unvoiced, voiced, etc. Hence this symbol indicates a part of the click. Both the click closure and the subsequent release should be considered members of a single click phoneme.

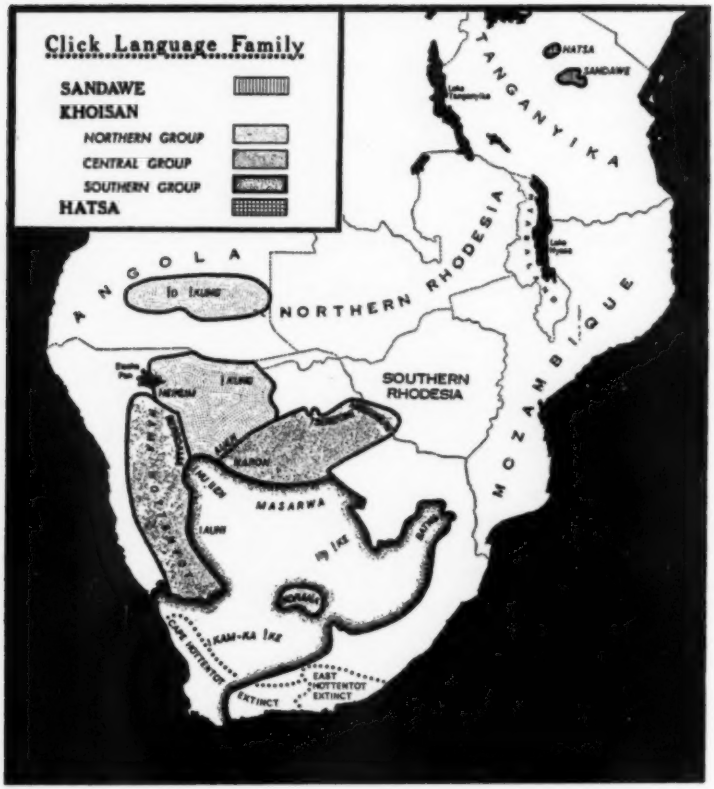

FIG. 1. The distribution of the click language family in South and East Africa.

difference of opinion. Meinhof, renewing an earlier suggestion of Lepsius, sought to prove that Hottentot was "Hamitic." This particular demonstration of Meinhof has probably evoked fewer favorable reactions than any other of his proposed extensions of "Hamitic" in Negro Africa: few, if any, would today maintain Meinhof's position with reference to Hottentot in its pristine form. W. Planert had pointed to the close similarity existing between the language of the /Ai San Bushmen (a form of Naron) and Hottentot, even before the appearance of Meinhof's work *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*.[2] The appearance of D. Bleek's comparative Bushman vocabularies showed that the language of the Khoisan area fell into three groups—a northern, central, and southern—and that Hottentot belonged to the central group, being particularly close to the language of the Naron Bushmen.[3] This rendered the Hamitic theory in its pure form untenable. At present, what is perhaps the most representative view is the one voiced by Schapera, that "Instead of looking upon them, as hitherto has been the custom, as Hamitic languages with Bushman admixture, it seems more correct to regard them as Bushman languages which have incorporated Hamitic features."[4]

First those features of Hottentot will be briefly reviewed which make it necessary to assume that its fundamental affiliation is within the Khoisan group of languages. After this, a discussion of Hottentot morphology will be undertaken, in order to show that in this aspect as well, in which "Hamitic" influence is usually posited, all of the basic features are Khoisan and there is no reason to assume the presence of a "Hamitic" factor in order to account for the particular linguistic developments to be found in Hottentot.

In phonology, the most important evidence of the basically Khoisan relationships of Hottentot is the frequency of the click sounds and the essential part they play in the economy of the language. As in other Khoisan languages, they only occur initially. Well over seventy percent of the noun, verb, and adjective roots of Hottentot begin with clicks. If the "Hamitic" theory in its pure form were to be accepted, all of these forms would have to have been borrowed from Bushman languages. In connected text, because of the large number of non-click grammatical particles, the frequency of words beginning with clicks is much smaller than on a dictionary basis. The text frequency of clicks, however, is actually higher for Hottentot than for most Bushman languages. Thus, selecting !Kung as representative of nothern Bushman, Hiechware for the central group,

2 C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten* (Hamburg, 1912); W. Planert, *Ueber die Sprache der Hottentotten und Buschmanner* (Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, vol. 8, abt. 3, pp. 104-176, Berlin, 1905).

3 D. F. Bleek, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (Cambridge, 1929).

4 South African Journal of Science, vol. 23, 1926, p. 860.

and /Kam for the southern, the following figures were obtained for the ratio of clicks to the number of words in connected discourse: !Kung 18%, Hiechware 16%, /Kam 30%, Nama Hottentot 26%, Korana Hottentot 44%.

In addition, Hottentot shares with the Bushman languages the following distinctive method of root formation in which the clicks play a fundamental part. Verb, noun, and adjective roots are mostly disyllabic, or can be reconstructed as once having been disyllabic. The roots begin most frequently with a click, sometimes with a non-click consonant. This is followed by a restricted group of vowels in the second position, basically *o* or *a*. The third position is either vacant or one of a small selection of non-click consonants occur: *r, m, n,* or a labial (in Nama Hottentot phonemically a *p*). In the fourth or final position we find the full set of vowels—*a, e, i, o,* or *u*. I do not discuss here the dropping of certain final vowels after *m* and *n,* or other complications. Suffice it to say, that practically without exception all of the Hottentot root vocabulary conforms to this idiosyncratic pattern, which reappears generally in the other Khoisan languages, insofar as the rather poor material generally at our disposal seems to indicate. Examples illustrative of this pattern are, in Nama Hottentot, */kora* 'rough'; *!apa* 'descend'; */goma* 'catch fish'; *!kai* 'cut off' (with vacant third position). The written *k, g,* etc., after the click sign indicates the type of release and forms a single phoneme with the click. The functioning of the clicks in this pattern is, obviously, powerful evidence for their original nature in Hottentot. Another striking feature of Hottentot phonology, shared with Bushmen, is not without parallels in other parts of Africa but is totally unlike Hamito-Semitic. No word may begin with *r* or *l,* and *r* only appears medially where it evidently has developed from an original dental (*t, d, s,* etc.); the dentals in turn occur initially but not medially in roots.

In vocabulary, Hottentot shows virtually no resemblance to Hamito-Semitic. On the other hand, the vast majority of root morphemes closely resemble that of the other languages of the central Khoisan group—Naron, Hiechware, etc. Somewhere near half of the Hottentot vocabulary has obvious cognates in either Northern Bushman languages, Southern Bushman languages, or both. These related forms are so numerous that there is no need to reproduce them here. Their existence can hardly be disputed. They appear in convenient form in Bleek's work, to which the reader is referred if he wishes to convince himself of their reality.

It remains to consider the evidence from morphology, in which many have seen indications of "Hamitic" influence. The verb root is, in general, unchangeable both in Hottentot and in the languages of the Bushmen, in contrast with the internal inflection of Hamito-Semitic. None of the characteristic conjugational

forms of these languages appears in the Hottentot verb. Tense and other sense modification are produced by particles which stand after the pronoun. In these particles, Hottentot shows general agreement with those of the Bushman languages. Nama Hottentot indicates the past by an element *go* (in the usual orthography). Phonetically we have *ɢo*, that is an intermediate unvoiced lenis sound: Beech phonemicizes it as *ko*. In Nama there is no phonemic distinction between *k* and *g*. This same particle corresponds to *ko* of Auen and !Kung in the northern Bushman languages, Naron *ko* in the central group, and /Auni *ko* in the southern, all designating the past.The Nama Hottentot particle *re*, indicating continued action, agrees with *re* with the same meaning in Auen (Northern group) and Naron (Central). Whether Nama *ta*, which forms the present, is cognate with *ti* found almost everywhere else in the Khoisan languages, I do not know. The vowel correspondence would be unusual. Nama *nī* 'future' and Korana Hottentot *ta* 'future' are not paralleled elsewhere in the Khoisan languages, but it is clear that the Nama optative *ga* (phonemically *ka;* see above) is related, by an obvious and frequent transition of meaning (cf. English *will*), to the *ka* future of Auen (Northern), Naron (Central), and the *oga* of !Kung (Northern). It is also clearly the same word as *ka* 'to wish' found in /Kam (Southern) and in Korana Hottentot and in the form *kaa* in Hiechware (Central). In general, the tense particles of Hottentot are no more divergent from the general patterns than that of the average Bushman language.

Hottentot forms a passive with an *-e* suffix found in other languages of the central Khoisan group (Naron *-e*, Hiechware *-ee*). It agrees likewise with Naron in expressing reciprocal action of the verb with a *-ku* suffix. All these are fundamental morphological constructions in which Hottentot behaves like any other Khoisan language and is quite unlike Hamito-Semitic. The only possible point of resemblance with Hamito-Semitic is the existence of a *-si* causative suffix. This does not point to Hamito-Semitic any more than to the Niger-Congo languages (Mossi, Bantu, and others have an *-s* causative) or the Fur languages of Darfur which likewise have an *s* causative. Such derivational affixes in the verb are a widespread African feature that may indicate more remote relationships among certain African linguistic stocks. It cannot be used, therefore, as an argument for specifically Hamito-Semitic connections.

In the Hottentot noun, we have a genitive construction in which the possessed precedes the possessor. This is the universal Khoisan pattern: the Hamito-Semitic languages have characteristically the opposite order. Hottentot employs the particle *di* between the possessed and the possessor. The same element *di* is found in Naron (Central) and /Nu //En (Southern) in this same usage.

Hottentot indicates gender (masculine, feminine, or common) and number (singular, dual, and plural) by suffixes to the noun. Thus, we have in Nama: *kxoe-b* 'man'; *kxoe-s* 'woman'; *kxoe-i* 'person'; *kxoe-kxa* 'men (dual)'; *kxoe-ra* 'women, persons (dual)'; *kxoe-ku* 'men'; *kxoe-ti* 'women'; *kxoe-n* 'persons'. This scheme is closely paralleled by that of the Naron Bushman: *kwe-ba* 'man'; *kwe-sa* 'woman'; *kwe-čəra* 'men (dual)'; *kwe-šəra* 'women (dual)'; *kwe-či* or *kwe-//kwa* 'men'; *kwe-si* 'women'. If one scheme has been borrowed from the "Hamitic" so must the other, so that at least one Bushman group, the Naron, have been just as much subject to "Hamitic" influence as the Hottentot. Outside of the mere fact of grammatical gender, which occurs elsewhere in Africa outside of Hamito-Semitic (East Sudanic and in the language of Jebel Gule in the upper Nile), we have only two points of specific resemblance. One is the *-b* masculine singular with which we may compare the Cushite Bedauye *-ba* as masculine accusative suffix and the *p* and *f* of Egyptian demonstratives and possessive pronouns. The other is the *-s* feminine singular and *-ti* plural which suggest the general Hamito-Semitic *t* feminine. It is on these two resemblances that practically the entire case for "Hamitic" influence usually rests. But one might just as well suggest that the *-ku* masculine plural and the *-a* copula of Khoisan languages demonstrated East Sudanic influence or perhaps more strikingly that Cape Bushman with the pronouns *he* 'third person singular', *i* 'first person plural', and *u* 'second person plural' is related to English *hij, wij, juw* (*he, we, you*). Morphological influence of this intimate type by one language on another is rare at best, and can only occur under conditions of intensive contact. Is it likely that contact of such a degree of intensiveness would have left practically no trace in the ordinary vocabulary of Hottentot? I believe that common sense will give a negative answer.

The plural gender affomatives of Hottentot occur quite generally in the Bushmen languages, though without precise gender connotation. For example, it seems likely that the Nama common gender plural *-n* (accusative *na*) was originally *ni* in the nominative. Now *-ni* is the common noun plural of /Auni and /Nu //En, both Southern Bushmen languages, and occurs as one of the plural formations in Nusan (also a Southern Bushman language). A feminine singular *-ti* suffix appears in /Kam Bushman, which shows sporadic gender formation. The Hottentot masculine plural *-ku* (*-gu* in the usual Nama orthography) seems to correspond to the /Kam plural for persons. Moreover, a number of these gender-number formatives are found in Sandawe and Hatsa, click languages to the north—languages which in general vocabulary and grammatical details are remote from Hottentot. There would thus have to have been a conspiracy for the

Sandawe and Hatsa languages to borrow exactly the same grammatical elements from Hamito-Semitic languages.

The personal pronouns of Hottentot, which again are almost identical with those of the Naron Bushmen, at first seem highly divergent in most respects from those of the Southern and Northern Bushman language groups, but analysis shows a number of real points of contact; nor is it always Hottentot which has been the innovator. Hottentot and Naron pronouns distinguish number (singular, dual, and plural) and gender (masculine, feminine, and common in Hottentot, masculine and feminine in Naron). In both languages the pronouns consist of two elements: a prefix which does not appear in certain constructions and a base which appears in all constructions. Thus *sa-ts* 'thou' masculine, in Hottentot contains a prefix *sa*. In independent use the form is *sa-ts*, but when suffixed to the verb as subject or object *-ts*, the base alone, is used. For the first and second person the prefix elements are three: *ti*—first person singular, *sa*—all other first and second person forms except first person exclusive, *si*—first person dual and plural exclusive. Of these, *ti* is probably proto-Khoisan since it appears as *tsi* in the remotely related Sandawe of East Africa, whereas North and South Bushman disagree on the first person pronouns (North *mi*, South *ŋ*, *ŋa*). The first person exclusive *si* is identical with the first person plural exclusive pronoun of the Southern Bushman languages.

Of the base, or second part of the pronoun, some are the gender and number elements already discussed. The first person base *-ta* is related to first person *-ta* suffixed to verbs in Hatsa, another click language in East Africa, thus, Nama *mũ-ta* 'I see' displays the same construction as Hatsa *fwa-ta* 'I drink'.[5]

The third person pronoun in Hottentot and Naron, as in general in the Khoisan languages, is a demonstrative pronoun, in this case with number and gender elements affixed. Hottentot uses *//āi-* as a base, but the closely related Naron employs instead *xa-* thus making *xa-ba* 'he', *xa-sa* 'she', etc. This *xa* is very

5 The second person plural Hottentot pronouns may also be plausibly interpreted as containing *u*, the common Southern Bushman pronoun, as their basic element. Nama has *sako* 'masculine', *saso* 'feminine' *sadu*, *sado* 'common'. Final *o* is a contraction of *au* as is indicated by the Korana Hottentot *sakau*, *sasau*, *sadu*. *sa-* is the first and second person pronominal base, discussed in the text. Masculine *ka*, feminine *sa*, common *d*, are gender elements which occur in other pronouns. This leaves *u* as the indication of the second person plural in agreement with Southern Bushman.

It would be somewhat more venturesome to interpret Nama and Korana first person *sake*, *sase*, *sada* as similarly contracted from *sa-ka-i*, *sa-sa-i* (*sada* instead of the expected *sadi* militates somewhat against this view). In this case the first person plural element is *-i*, which again coincides with Southern Bushman first person plural pronoun.

possibly the ordinary Bushman demonstrative and third person pronoun *ha* 'that, he, she, etc.' In general, the Bushman languages use a farther demonstrative *ha* 'that' and a nearer *he* 'this'. The latter occurs in Korana, but not in Nama Hottentot, as *he* 'this'.

Hottentot forms adverbs by suffixing *-se* to adjectives. Naron uses *-sɔ* and Auen, a Northern Bushman language, *-si*. Sandawe, in East Africa, has *-se*.

Hottentot suffixes prepositions to the noun, as do all the Bushman languages. Hottentot */ka* 'with' is cognate with Southern Bushman ≠Khomani */ka*, and probably with Naron (Central) and Auen (Northern) */kwa*. Hottentot *ka*, which only occurs in a few fixed adverbial expressions in the meaning 'in (of time or place of)', is related to Naron *ka* 'in (of time and place)', Auen and !Kung *ka* 'in', Hiechware and Masarwa *ka* 'at'. The usual Hottentot form for 'in' is */na*. This resembles Auen */ne* and !Kung */nē* (both Northern languages).

The present review of the morphological evidence from Hottentot should be sufficient to show that it resembles the Bushmen languages at every turn. The only elements suggestive of Hamito-Semitic influence are the *-si* causative of the verb and the *-b* masculine and *-s* feminine affix of the noun. In view of the overwhelming vocabulary resemblance to Bushmen languages, the fundamental role of clicks in Hottentot phonology, and the detailed morphological agreements with Bushmen, there can be no doubt that Hottentot is a member of the Khoisan family of languages. In the practical absence of any vocabulary resemblance, the assumption of "Hamitic" influence to explain these few scattered points of morphological resemblance is quite unjustified.

There are only two tenable explanations of these resemblances. They can be considered as chance convergences, or, provided they can be reconstructed for the parent click language (in the case of the gender elements this seems to be probable) they may result from a remote relationship between the click languages and Hamito-Semitic as a whole.

II. SANDAWE

The Sandawe are a hunting and, to some extent, agricultural and herding people of Tanganyika, in East Africa. Their language has three of the four clicks which occur in the Central and Northern Khoisan languages. In addition to ≠, it lacks the labial click of the Southern Bushman languages.

Sandawe displays enough morphological and lexical resemblance to the Khoisan languages for its relationship to be accepted. Because of the presence of grammatical gender, the Sandawe language has usually been compared with Hottentot. However, its relationship to the Khoisan languages is obviously a

remote one, and all the Khoisan languages agree in a number of lexical and morphological innovations (for example, the verb tense elements) which indicate a period of common development of divergent forms. The presence of gender in both Sandawe and Hottentot (and Naron Bushman) is to be interpreted, in accordance with the usual methods of comparative linguistics, as a common retention of a feature of the ancestral click language. This is further confirmed by the occurrence of the same gender affixes in Hatsa, another East African click language, remote in other respects from both Khoisan and Sandawe. Moreover, Sandawe does not exhibit markedly more vocabulary resemblance to the Central branch of Khoisan than to the others.

Sandawe has a number of morphological features which recall those of the Khoisan family, particularly in the pronouns. First person *tsi* is equivalent to *ti* of Hottentot and Naron, *či* of Hiechware. The third person feminine pronoun *sa* is cognate to the *-s* of Hottentot and *-sa* of Naron. Common gender singular *e* resembles the *-i* nominative *-e* accusative of the Hottentot. Just as in Hottentot and Naron, a demonstrative functions as a base for the third person pronouns. It is the form *ha-* which means 'he, she, it' throughout the Northern and Southern Bushman groups. The masculine singular affix *-we* appended to it to form *ha-we* 'he' may be plausible compared to the *-b* masculine of Hottentot and Naron (in Hottentot the usual intervocalic pronunciation is that of a voiced bi-labial fricative *β* which easily passes into a *w*). In its elements and formation Sandawe *ha-we* thus completely parallels Naron *xa-ba*. Similarly *ha-su, he-su* 'she' resembles Naron *xa-sa*.

In addition to its employment as a base for third person pronouns, *ha* in Sandawe means 'that' just as do /Kam and Batwa (Southern) *ha,* Naron (Central) *xa* and Hiechware (Central) *ho*. The other demonstrative in Sandawe is *he* 'this' which may be compared with Korana Hottentot *he* 'this'. Elsewhere in the Khoisan languages *he* functions as a third person pronoun. The same contrast of an *-a* remote demonstrative element with an *-e* near demonstrative is found in Sandawe *na* 'there', *ne* 'here'. 'There' is *//na* in most Southern Bushman languages and in Hottentot. 'Here' is *ne* in Hottentot.

In the plural of nouns, the feminine affix *-si* obviously resembles Naron feminine plural *-si,* Hottentot feminine plural *-ti* and the frequent *-si* plural of Northern Bushmen languages and of /Auni in the Southern group, without gender connotations. The masculine plural which is sometimes *ko,* more often the singular form without change, is clearly related to Hottentot *-ku,* masculine plural, and perhaps the *gu* personal plural of /Kam (Southern Bushman).

In general, the verb structure of Sandawe resembles that of the Khoisan lan-

guages. The most conspicuous difference is the absence of tense particles in Sandawe. The *-ki* reciprocal suffix of the Sandawe verb is perhaps related to the *-ku* of Naron and Hottentot.

Sandawe forms adverbs and adjectives by means of an *-se* suffix. With this we may compare Auen (Northern) *-si*, Hottentot *-se*, Naron *-sɔ*.

SANDAWE-KHOISAN COMPARATIVE WORD LIST[6]

to be able:	Sandawe *da.*	/Kam (S) *dɔa.*
to be silent:	Sandawe *!kamu.*	!O !Kung (N) *!gum;* Hottentot (C) *!gai.*
beget:	Sandawe *haba.*	Hiechware (C) *abaa;* Naron (C) *aba:.*
below:	Sandawe */u-ki.*	!O !Kung */ko* 'under'; *//ŋ* !Ke */kāū* 'under'.
buffalo:	Sandawe */eu.*	Hottentot (C) */gao;* Korana Hottentot (C) */ao;* Hiechware (C) */hao.*
carry child in a kaross:	Sandawe *habe.*	Auen (N) *!gabe;* Naron, Hiechware (C) *aba;* Hottentot (C) *awa;* Masarwa (S) *//kabe;* /Nu //En (S) */kabe.*
claw:	Sandawe */noa.*	Hottentot (C) */nowo* 'to scratch'.
cry:	Sandawe *k'e.*	Auen (N) *k'ai;* Naron (C) *k"xai; //ŋ* !Ke, Batwa, /Nu //En (S) *k"a.*
cut:	Sandawe */ne.*	Naron (C) */ni;* Hottentot (C) *≠nai.*
descend:	Sandawe *//'a.*	Auen (N) *//gwa;* Naron (C) *//gwā;*

6 In general, I use the standard orthographies. In the case of Nama Hottentot, I have in general phonemicized the vowels in accordance with Bleek's excellent description, but I have retained the usual writing of the clicks, click releases, and intervocalic consonants in order to retain comparability with forms cited from other languages. For want of the proper type, *O* is employed here for the labial click of Southern Bushman.

In Dempwolff's Sandawe material (*Die Sandawe,* Hamburg, 1916) I have omitted his click release ' which he describes as a smooth release, hence phonetically perhaps not unlike the *k* or *g* release of the Khoisan languages. Indeed, it will be noted that this Sandawe release regularly corresponds to the *k* release of Bushman languages and the *g* release of the conventional Nama orthography.

Many possibly correct etymologies involving different clicks in the Khoisan and Sandawe languages have been omitted. The clicks are difficult to distinguish and in much of our material, no doubt, the clicks are incorrectly indicated.

Comparisons involving Sandawe with Hottentot and Hiechware only occur with some frequency because these are the only two Khoisan languages where there is extensive lexical material.

In the Sandawe transcriptions, unvoiced laterals are indicated by ʟ (*s* with a diacritical in Dempwolff's original), lateral affricatives by *tl* (Dempwolff, *t* with diacritic), and unvoiced lateral spirant by *ɬ* (Dempwolff, *ts* with diacritic). These sounds correspond to Khoisan *s, t,* and *ts* by a type of phonetic shift common in Africa.

		Hottentot *//gõã;* /Kam (S) *//koa:;* Batwa (S) *//koe.*
draw water:	Sandawe *hawe.*	Hottentot *xawa* 'bucket'.
dust:	Sandawe *tlaraŋ.*	Hottentot (C) *tsɔra.*
ear:	Sandawe *keke* 'ear' *ke'e* 'to hear'.	Hiechware (C) *čeče* 'to hear', *čee* 'ear'; Naron (C) *≠ke:;* Hottentot *≠gai.*
excrements:	Sandawe *tso.*	/Ai San (C) *ču;* /Nu //En (S) *txu:i.*
fat (noun):	Sandawe *tsaŋ.*	!Kung (N) *dzān;* /Kam (S) *sɔeŋ;* //ŋ !Ke (S) *s'yŋ;* Masarwa (S) *šãã.*
foot:	Sandawe *!ŋoa.*	/Kam (S) *!noa;* Masarwa (S) *≠nɔ, //nɔ:.*
four:	Sandawe *haka.*	Hottentot (C) *haka;* Naron (C) *haga;* Hiechware (C) *haka;* /Auni (S) *haka.*
go out:	Sandawe *tu.*	!Kung (N) *toa* 'go'; !O !Kung (N) *toa* 'go'; Hiechware (C) *čwa* 'go out'; Batwa (S) *soa* 'go away'.
healthy:	Sandawe */'e-se.*	Hottentot (C) */gai* 'strong'; /Kam (S) */gi:* 'strong'.
hit:	Sandawe *ka.*	Hiechware (C) *kwa;* Auen (N) *txa:.*
hole:	Sandawe *!kwe.*	/Kam (S) *!kwe!kwe.*
jump, fly:	Sandawe *tho.*	!O !Kung (N) *tẽ* 'fly'; Hottentot (C) *toe* 'fly'; //ŋ !Ke (S) *tɔ:u* 'jump'.
knife:	Sandawe *kogo* 'sword'.	Hiechware *kagho* 'knife'.
little:	Sandawe *ma* 'a little'.	Auen, !Kung, !O !Kung (N) *ma;* Masarwa, /Nu //En (S) *ma.*
lizard:	Sandawe *tl'aŋga.*	Auen (N) *tsãĩ;* !Kung (N) *tsxan.*
louse:	Sandawe *man/'a.*	/Kam (S) *Omoen;* //ŋ !Ke (S) *Omoinja.*
meet, find:	Sandawe */'o.*	Hottentot (C) */oa.*
mountain:	Sandawe *gawa.*	Hiechware (C) */goa;* Naron (C) */gabi;* /Kam (S) */kou.*
night:	Sandawe *tue.*	Hiechware (C) *due* 'to be dark'; /Auni (S) *toa* 'to lie down'; //ŋ !Ke (S) *tu* 'to lie down'; Auen, !Kung, !O !Kung (N) *šu* 'to lie down'.
nose:	Sandawe */nati, ne'ati* (L).	/Kam (S) */nur˜u;* //ŋ /Ke (S) */nutu;* Batwa (S) */nu;* /Nu //En (S) */niša.*

pour:	Sandawe *kwi* 'to spill'.	/Kam (S) *ku:*; //ŋ !Ke (S) *ku.*
rain:	Sandawe *tl'oa.*	Hiechware (C) *tu;* Naron (C) *tu:.*
run:	Sandawe *tha.*	Auen (N) *tč"a;* /Nu //En (S) *ša, sa.*
say:	Sandawe *Ga.*	!O !Kung (N) *ka;* Hottentot (C) *gawa, gowa;* /Kam (S) *ka;* //ŋ !Ke (S) *koa:.*
scratch:	Sandawe *xoa.*	!O !Kung (N) *čxo;* Hottentot (C) *xoa;* Masarwa (S) *xa.*
sister:	Sandawe LISU (man speaking).	Auen (N) *tsisi;* !Kung (N) *tasiŋ* 'younger sister'; Naron (C) *ti.*
to smell:	Sandawe *hime* 'to stink'.	Hiechware (C) *hmee.*
snort, groan:	Sandawe *samu.*	//ŋ !Ke (S) *sə̃ri;* Batwa (S) *sõ;* !Kung (N) *swẽ;* Naron (C) *sõ;* Hottentot (C) *suni.*
spirit, soul:	Sandawe */nome.*	Hiechware (C) */gom;* Hottentot (C) */om.*
to stand:	Sandawe LE (plural verb).	Auen (N) *tso;* !Kung (N) *tsau;* !O !Kung (N) *tsou;* Hiechware (C) *t'e;* Naron (C) *te.*
stick:	Sandawe *dzwa.*	Hiechware (C) *dzoa.*
tail:	Sandawe *tsoa.*	Hottentot (C) *tsoa* 'buttocks'; Hiechware (C) *tsau;* Naron (C) *čau.*
try:	Sandawe *//'ue.*	Auen (N) *//gaue* 'seek'.
valley:	Sandawe *Goba.*	Hottentot (C) *!kxowi;* Naron (C) *!xubi.*
water:	Sandawe *ts'a.*	!O !Kung (N) *ča:* 'rain'; !Kung (N) *ša, ča* 'rain'; Hiechware (C) *tsaa;* Naron (C) *ča.*
well:	Sandawe *//'aŋ.*	Masarwa (S) *//gana* 'water hole'; Batwa (S) *//a.*
wish:	Sandawe *ge.*	Hiechware (C) *kaa;* Korana Hottentot *ka;* /Kam (S) *ka.*
wrong (noun):	Sandawe *tsoro.*	Hottentot (C) *soro* 'wrong (adjective)'.

III. HATSA

The Hatsa (variously called Wakindega, Watindenga, Kindega, Hatsa, and Hadzapi) are a small hunting, food-collecting group who live some distance northwest of the Sandawe, southeast of Lake Victoria, in Tanganyika. Their

language contains the same four clicks as the Central and Northern Khoisan languages but they appear far less frequently, and often in the middle of words, a rare phenomenon in Khoisan languages, and only an occasional one in Sandawe. Our knowledge of this language is very limited, consisting of several far from complete grammatical sketches and Dempwolff's short vocabulary.[7]

In spite of the sparse material, a number of significant morphological resemblances to Sandawe and to the Khoisan languages are apparent. The Hatsa noun has grammatical gender. Masculine singular nouns often have a suffix *-wa* (*-ya* after *-i*). This reminds us of the *-we* of the Sandawe third masculine pronoun which was interpreted as <*be*, thus corresponding to the Hottentot *-b*, Naron *-ba* masculine element. Indeed *-ba* is found in one Hatsa masculine noun *yak'amba* 'male'. Moreover, the third person masculine possessive suffix is *-ma* and there is a constant *m/b* alternation within Hatsa. Thus nouns have a masculine plural *-bi*, feminine plural *-be* suffix, while the corresponding verb subject suffixes are *-mi* and *-me* respectively. In Naron the same alternation occurs, the *-ba* masculine can be replaced by *-me* before the verb 'to be', before possessive *di*, and before prepositions.

The third person feminine possessive *-sa* coincides with Sandawe *-sa* 'she' and the feminine noun suffix in Naron *-sa*. All of the plural feminine personal pronouns have a *-ti* suffix which is to be compared to the feminine noun plurals *-ti* of Hottentot and *-tsi* of Sandawe. The *-či* of the masculine plural pronouns may similarly be compared to the masculine noun plural *-či* of Naron.

The third person independent pronouns show the same *ha-* base as those of Sandawe, the independent *ha* of the Bushman languages, and the *xa-* third person base of Naron. The masculine third person independent pronoun of Hatsa *ha-wa* is thus entirely parallel in its formation to Sandawe *ha-we* and Naron *xa-ba*. In Hatsa, *ha* occurs independently as a demonstrative, just as in Sandawe and some of the Khoisan languages.

The third person singular objective pronoun *-a* is identical with this pronoun in Sandawe.

The first person pronoun subject suffixed to the verb is *-ta*, which is identical in form with the Hottentot *-ta* and resembles Sandawe *tsa*, one of the variants of the first person singular independent pronouns.

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7 Our chief sources of information for the Hatsa language are: O. Dempwolff, *Zeitschrift für Kolonial-Sprache*, vol. 7, pp. 319-326, 1916-17 (the only word list); E. Obst, *Von Mkalama ins Land der Wakindega* (Mitteilungen der Geographisches Gesellschaft, Hamburg, 1912, especially pp. 29-45); and D. F. Bleek, *The Hadzapi or Watindega of Tanganyika Territory* (Africa, vol. 4, pp. 273-285, 1931).

The Hatsa interrogative pronoun base *tu-* seen in *tundu* 'where?', *tuma* 'when?' may be connected with Naron (Central) *du* 'what?', 'which?' and possibly the *de* interrogative base of /Kam (Southern) and !Kung (Northern) Bushman.

Hatsa employs a suffix *-ina* to form a noun locative with the meaning 'to', 'at'. Sandawe similarly employs *-na*.

The Hatsa copula *e* is identical with the *e* copula of practically all the Southern and Northern Bushman languages, the *e* of the Naron (Central) and *je* of Hiechware (Central). Perhaps this form is cognate with the *i* copula of the Hottentot and Sandawe.

Two tense formatives are found in Hatsa: *ta* 'past' and *so, si* 'future'. Perhaps the latter is to be connected with the Khoisan /Auni (Southern) *se* future which has elsewhere been generally replaced in the Khoisan languages by a periphrases based on *ka* 'to wish'. Hatsa also has an *a* 'continuative' which links a verb to the previous one in the narrative regardless of the tense of the former. An element *a*, used in exactly the same manner, is known from the Auen (Northern) and Naron (Central) Bushmen languages.

Some vocabulary resemblances can be found between Hatsa and the Khoisan languages, or between Hatsa and Sandawe. These are listed below. Although they are few in number, they represent a fair proportion of the meager vocabulary material available. It should be noted that many Hatsa nouns begin with *ha-, ho-* or *hi-*. This may be related to the already mentioned demonstrative element *ha-*. It should be disregarded in comparisons in order to arrive at the base of the word. Likewise, the gender and number suffixes *-wa, -ya, -ko, -pe, -pi* should be eliminated in making comparisons.

HATSA-SANDAWE-KHOISAN COMPARATIVE WORD LIST

to ache:	Hatsa–*kx'eweyaha.*	Khoisan–Auen, !O !Kung (N) *kwi.*
ashes:	Hatsa–*hots'owako.*	Khoisan–Hottentot (C) *tsao;* Naron (C) *tou;* Hiechware (C) *joaa;* !Kung (N) *tɔ:.*
to be hungry:	Hatsa–*hats'eya.*	Sandawe–*ts'ou* 'hunger'. Khoisan–!Kung (N) *dzou.*
bow:	Hatsa–*kxoowako.*	Khoisan–Hottentot (C) *kxa.*
fat:	Hatsa–*hits'ape.*	(See 'fat' in Sandawe-Khoisan list above.)
guinea-fowl:	Hatsa–*ts'ako.*	Sandawe–*ts'anke.*
hair:	Hatsa–*halepe.*	Sandawe–*ts'e.*
house:	Hatsa–*ets'akho.*	Sandawe–*tsakho.*
nose:	Hatsa–*intawe.*	(See 'nose' in Sandawe-Khoisan list above.)

rain:	Hatsa–*atiya.*	(See 'rain' in Sandawe-Khoisan list above.)
to shoot:	Hatsa–*//axeta.*	Khoisan–Masarwa (S) *//a:te.*
tail:	Hatsa–*tsahowa.*	(See 'tail' in Sandawe-Khoisan list above.)
wind:	Hatsa–*ts'utxépi.*	Khoisan–Batwa (S) *šuwi, ču:se.*

The relationship of Hatsa to Sandawe and to the Khoisan languages is a fairly remote one. Its resemblance to Sandawe is no greater than to the Khoisan languages, in spite of its geographical nearness. Until more material is available, the click languages may be tentatively considered as having three branches: 1. Khoisan, 2. Sandawe, 3. Hatsa. An alternative would be to consider Hatsa as one branch over against Sandawe-Khoisan as the other. The present evidence favors the view set forth here.

The subgroups of Khoisan and their membership are sufficiently indicated in the accompanying map.

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SOCIAL LIFE AND AUTHORITY IN THE EAST EUROPEAN JEWISH SHTETEL COMMUNITY

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I. CULTURAL ASPECTS

THE MOST STRIKING FEATURE of Jewish life in the small town Jewish community in Eastern Europe, commonly known as the shtetel, is an almost complete fusion of the "religious" and "secular" aspects of everyday life. Every step in the life of the Jew living according to the traditions of this community is controlled and regulated by religious prescriptions which order, in the most minute detail, the relations between man and God, and man and his fellow-man. Religious prescriptions endow with sacred meaning the various observances for the Sabbath, feasts and fasts, and the ceremonial rites-of-passage connected with the most important events of the life-cycle. Prayer and worship, morals and ethics, diet and dress, even functions of nature are governed and colored by religious rules. These rules are embodied in the Torah, the Divine Revelation, as codified and applied to daily life by the Talmud and a body of lesser exegetical literature.

To the shtetel Jew, the Torah (Bible) means more than belief and faith. Representing the whole of Jewish tradition, it serves as the safeguard of national and cultural distinctiveness and as the guarantor of the eternal existence of the group. In these interlocking assumptions lies the root of the Torah's supreme power over the shtetel Jew. One cannot draw away from the Torah without at the same time withdrawing from the traditional fold. Non-conformity is equivalent to not belonging. Consequently, those who disobey the God-willed Law hurt themselves primarily, but may also jeopardize the well-being of the group, since this is riveted together by the solidarity of its religious ties. As one informant phrased it:

> Man has free will for good and bad. Absolutely free will, completely so. But if a Jew sins, he harms himself and, together with it, he degrades all the Jewish people.[1]

Since these mandatory and prohibitory norms make no distinction between *jus* and *fas,* and between strictly legal or cultic prescription and general moral com-

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1 Unless otherwise specified, all quotations are from interviews in the files of the Columbia University Research Project in Contemporary Cultures and, as far as possible, in the informants' own words.

The author acknowledges the assistance of the Columbia University Research Project in Contemporary Cultures and his indebtedness to members of the group engaged in the study of the East European Jewish culture for stimulating and valuable suggestions.

mandment, almost no separation is possible between belief and act, form and meaning. Religious adherence to the innumerable precepts of the Torah is, in fact, regarded in the shtetel as tantamount to faith. And as the body of behavioral precept contained in the six hundred and thirteen mitzvos, or Divine Commandments, uniformly delineates the sphere of prescribed action, the insistence upon study and knowledge of the Holy Books is the most significant phenomenon in the shtetel life. All the laws, customs, and mores, together with their ethical and moral ramifications, are fixed, discussed, and interpreted in these Books.

> In order to be a good Jew, one has to follow the commandments of the Scripture. In order to follow them, one has to know them. In order to know them, one has to study.[2]

The characteristically literate culture of the shtetel promotes consistency of thought and behavior, and assures a high degree of explicitness in all human relations. The written word of the Torah supplies an authoritative test of social adequacy and ritual appropriateness for the conduct, belief, and aims of every individual. It provides a basis for the valuation of fellow-members of the community in relation to the duties they are expected to perform and the obligations they are counted upon to fulfill. The Written Word gives meaning and value to every event of life, and secures orientation to the common goal.

The fact that all share the written tradition and that knowledge of the Law (Torah) is both obligatory and accessible to every Jew is one of the major determinants of fundamental equality, claimed in the shtetel for all Jews regardless of differences in status, wealth, or position. Ideologically, this claim rests upon the constitutional enactment of the Covenant between God and the Jewish people, as formulated in the Holy Scriptures. The provisions of this eternal pact (Brit), sealed on Mount Sinai by the giving of the Law, extend to each Jew separately and to all Jews collectively. As each individual is brought into the Covenant by the act of circumcision at the age of eight days, he accepts the burden of the Law and takes upon himself the obligation to learn and observe its Divine Commandments. At the same time he acquires for himself all the privileges attached to it. Consequently, all Jews are equally "Children of the Covenant" in the eyes of God. All are members of the "Chosen People." All have the same duties and obligations, share a common destiny, and will participate equally in the blessings that are expected to accompany the advent of the Messiah.

All social relationships in the shtetel are peculiarly tinged by this postulate of intrinsic equality. As will be fully developed later, many social mechanisms which

2 Mark Zborowski, *The Place of Book-Learning in Traditional Jewish Culture* (Harvard Educational Review, vol. 19, pp. 87-109, 1949).

tend to bridge or to minimize the cleavages produced by intellectual and social stratification can be attributed to operation of this principle. It also affects in a similar way the nature, function, and character of authority relations.

II. ECONOMIC ASPECTS

The economic life of the shtetel is anomalous in a number of ways. Denied access to public employment on the state and municipal level, severely limited in their choice of occupations and professions, and frequently forbidden to own land or to settle in industrial centers, the East European Jews have been compelled to earn their living in small-scale commerce and handicraft. Sumptuary laws, governmental prohibitions, and social discrimination have produced abnormal conditions, to which only a precarious economic adjustment has been possible.

Due to the heavy concentration in urban districts, the Jews are dependent for subsistence and, to a marked degree, for income, on the surrounding non-Jewish population. This dependence upon non-Jewish economy has grave consequences for the Jewish population of the shtetel. The backwardness, poverty, and over-population of the village contributed greatly to the further destitution and decline of the Jewish standard of living, already hard hit by segregation and by limitations of economic opportunity. In the resulting vicious circle of cumulative causation, even the existence of a subsidiary internal Jewish market cannot bring relief to Jewish traders and craftsmen in their struggle for existence.

It is no wonder then that, except for a small minority of rich or well-to-do people, the mass of shtetel Jews live on the brink of starvation. They own little property, their income is not only low but highly irregular, and their varied occupations rarely mean steady work or assure a minimum of economic security. Since earning a living in any one occupation is a limited possibility, and at best precarious, people often undertake several other types of employment on the side, or switch from one occupation to another, according to prevailing seasonal conditions.

This desperate economic situation is also responsible for the many different lines of work in which one household may engage in order to eke out a miserable existence. The father may be a peddler; his wife will keep a market-stall; the son may drive a cart or serve as apprentice to a craftsman; and the daughter will work as a dressmaker. Very often, commercial or trade undertakings are run jointly by all the members of a family, or at least by husband and wife together. This is particularly true of small stores or market-stalls.

In addition to the economic plight of the family, the ritualistic and religious practices that devolve upon the males—and particularly their Divinely decreed

obligation of book-learning—accounts for the large proportion of families depending on women's labor for the family livelihood. Interestingly enough, the prescribed debility of the female sex in the ritualistic sphere of life does not extend to the function of supporting a family, which may be performed interchangeably by either sex.

The fact that the majority of shtetel Jews must struggle for even the minimum level of security assures a privileged position to the small group of well-to-do individuals. But in order to enjoy popular esteem and win social rewards, the well-to-do must contribute to individual and group benefactions and must keep within the traditional rules of Jewish life. Although this is the guiding principle in social relations, wealth counts so heavily in all contacts with the outside world that it must be recognized as a factor of power under any conditions. Usually a rich man has friends and connections in government circles, and may intervene and obtain favors for his fellow-Jews, although—if such should be his intention—he can also do a great deal of harm to the community.

From the foregoing discussion of the cultural and economic conditions of the shtetel it is apparent that what we have here is a community walled-in partly by intention and partly by external compulsion, and under continuous pressure from an actually or potentially hostile out-group. The latent antagonism underlying this relationship is intensified by contrasting standards of conduct, stressed on both sides. Moreover, in the realm of power, the majority out-group occupies a controlling and predominant position. It performs all governmental functions, and holds in its hands potent instruments of coercion. Finally, the shtetel minority is dependent upon the majority for its economic means of existence.

It is obvious then, that the effect of these realities will be felt in all spheres of life, and that salient lines of tension run through the fabric of the shtetel community. The constant clash of what is regarded as external imposition, with the internally obligatory order of things, gives rise to accommodative and informal solutions which are accepted only as a rational necessity. There results an incongruity between economic exigencies and the culturally prescribed system of values. While the value-system works for unity, conformity, and solidarity, the economic exigencies are responsible for social differentiation and stratification.

III. ASPECTS OF AUTHORITY

The fundamental organization of social life in the shtetel is of a socio-religious type, which determines the basic outlook of the individual and provides him with an all-inclusive value-orientation. Community and family are the main internal structures. Within their framework, all human relations are controlled and inte-

grated into a functioning unit. Both structures are bound in a number of ways to the synagogue—the place of worship, study, and communal assembly. This is the center of the community, a visible symbol of its wholeness.

Group-belonging in the shtetel community is achieved by the simple fact of being born a Jew. Membership thus obtained by birth can never be irretrievably forfeited nor even voluntarily relinquished. This conviction is repeatedly stressed in folk thought and proverbs. "A Jew always remains a Jew," they say. "The drop of Jewishness can never be erased." And even, "An atheist is still a Jew." Within the group, the individual may be blamed, ostracized, sometimes even excommunicated for un-Jewish conduct, but in the last analysis he remains a Jew. Of course, it is clearly felt that the irrevocability of this statement of fact is as much due to the group's volition as to the steadfast refusal by the outside world to receive and accept Jews. Since leaving the group completely is not possible, one cannot effectively be removed and shut out. On the other hand, the community is always prepared to welcome back even the apostate, if he shows repentance and remorse. In fact, ideally at least, the repentant sinner ranks higher than the perfectly righteous man.

Group cohesion, as shown in these assumptions, is enhanced by other accepted ideas. Each shtetel community regards itself not only as an intrinsic part of the Jewish world, but also as its microscopic replica. This conception is anchored in the fact that the socio-religious norms of the Law, giving direction to the modes of life in the shtetel, are obligatory throughout the traditional Jewish world. Essential institutions are therefore faithfully reproduced in every Jewish community. Obviously, all vital functions will be found in full operation in some of these, while in others many phases of social activity may be manifest in less dynamic form. But even where communal life is at its lowest ebb, certain essential functions will be kept alive and centered around the synagogue.

It is the principal characteristic of the shtetel culture that rules of social organization are highly flexible and adaptable to circumstances. Almost any element may be abandoned or substituted, in accordance with inevitable necessities created by conditions in the external environment. There can be a shtetel without a rabbi, or with one, two, or more rabbis. There can be one or more special synagogues, or just a room with the Holy Scroll. Localization and structuralization in this group are of secondary importance, for the core is represented by human beings, each one a member of the world-wide Jewish community, each one a carrier of the Written Word of the Torah. Thus, independently of time and place, ten adult Jews form the smallest congregation (minyan), a quorum

necessary for public worship. Cultural identity and feeling of unity spring from common social usage and not from any structural arrangement.

In consonance with this premise, solidarity extends far beyond the actual limits of the shtetel. Theoretically at least, it includes every Jew, whoever and wherever he may be. Various conceptions and social mechanisms assist in promoting this tendency. The most general formulation, evolved to serve this end, is the principle of common responsibility for the conduct, well-being, and security of every member of the community. But social protection is not confined to internal relations. Considerable importance is also attached to the defense of the individual against the malice and ill-will of the inherently hostile out-group. These attitudes are well illustrated in the following account by an informant:

What I am going to tell you could only happen in a Jewish community. It was like that. Picture for yourself, if you can, a small shtetel, with a market-place in the middle of the town. Little stands and shacks crowd the place, and people sell all sorts of things to eat, to wear, and to use. We boys loved to roam around the market-place. There was among us a little boy, an orphan. His father was dead and his mother was a sick woman who couldn't very well take care of him. They were poor and destitute. I remember how the boy used to walk around during those cold winter nights in completely torn shoes. So, once he came to the market, on one of those busy market days, and approached a stand where a man was selling heavy boots we used to wear in the shtetel. The man owned a small shack, we call it kreml (little store), with a dozen pairs of boots hanging on the walls and over the doorway. So, the orphan stole a pair of these boots. All of a sudden the storekeeper rushed out of the store and started yelling: "A ganev, a ganev" (a thief, a thief). People came running from all sides; a policeman arrived; they found out who stole the boots, and the boy didn't deny it. So, they returned the boots to the storeowner and the policeman was ready to take the boy to jail. The Jews stand around; women cry and shout: "What are we going to do? How can we let the police take away a Jewish boy? They'll make a Goy (Gentile) out of him. And he is an orphan. What will happen to his mother? We must do something about it." So, one fat market woman selling some sort of pastry picks up one of her dozen skirts (you know, they wore two or more skirts, one on top of the other, to keep warm, and the money was kept in a pocket sewn into the last skirt, so that nobody could steal it), takes out some money and offers it to the storekeeper. A collection is also taken up and about two dollars in our money is brought together. The policeman puts his hand behind his back; the money is slipped into his hand, and he lets the boy go. Naturally, the policeman expected it. Whenever he is called to an affair like that, he knows he will be bribed to let the "criminal" go.

The real fireworks began when the policeman left. People shouted that if the community had taken care of the boy he wouldn't have to steal a pair of shoes. But the rich people are too busy giving money to those who really don't need it, instead of taking care of widows and orphans. So, a committee is formed and goes to talk to the

"big shots" of the community. The "gabay" (official of the community) apologizes that he didn't know that the widow was so poor and if somebody had only told him, he would have seen to it that she and her family should have had enough to eat and to wear. From that time on the boy had always clothes and there was always food in his home.

Now, I think, that could only happen in a shtetel. Only Jews would act like that. Gentiles somehow just don't seem to care what happens to their people, but Jews do. I could tell you dozens of identical stories, which happened in our shtetel.

Mutual aid is institutionalized and perpetuated in the shtetel by a distinctive pattern of giving and receiving. The well-endowed, in either wealth or learning, are regarded as guardians responsible for less fortunate people. Giving is directed downward and is not returned in kind.

> Wealth, learning, and other tangible and intangible possessions are so channeled that in the main they flow from the "strong" or "rich" or "learned" or "old" to those who are weaker, poorer, more ignorant, younger or sicker.[3]

The manifold duties of social assistance, prescribed by the Law for individual and collective action, include "feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, burying the dead, comforting the mourners, educating the orphans, sheltering the homeless, and providing poor brides with dowries." Each of these benevolent activities is performed either by formal organizations and institutions or by informal and spontaneous efforts of individual members of the community.

A remarkable peculiarity of all sociative relations in the shtetel is that they are conceived as obligations and duties, as normative "good deeds," and are not balanced by any formalized right or claim to an equivalent return or any well-defined reciprocity. What may sometimes appear to an observer as reciprocal behavior, to wit, showing of honor, deference, or respect by the recipient, is considered in this culture the recipient's own independent duty in a given situation, and not an equalizing exchange of values. We see here a pattern of dovetailing of unidirectional actions which are neither complementary nor reciprocal nor even fully symmetrical. Social expectation of appropriate conduct rests upon each person's own duty and responsibility to conform to the commandments of the Law. This obligation cannot, in any relation—whether between parents and children, teachers and pupils, givers and receivers—become the opposite party's personal right. The reciprocal return can safely be looked for under stated conditions. One must not demand it as one's right.

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3 Natalie F. Joffe, *The Dynamics of Benefice among East European Jews* (Social Forces, vol. 27, pp. 238-247, 1949). This paragraph closely follows Joffe's extended analysis and description. However, in our further discussion we reach somewhat different conclusions.

The performance of a benefaction, enjoined by Divine Commandment, secures "credit marks" on the person's heavenly account, and brings rewards in the afterlife. As a counterpart in the nearest earthly situation, generosity counts heavily as a prestige-giving act. But since such acts are judged and evaluated with reference to the underlying motivation and the way in which the "blessed deed" (mitzvah) is executed, prestige is not always associated with popular esteem.

To sociologists and anthropologists, prestige is one phase or aspect of the superiority-inferiority relation. Often they fail to distinguish between prestige and esteem, and erroneously assume that the latter necessarily follows the former. In so doing, they overlook an entire range of other important possibilities which may help to clarify the intricacies of an authority-system. The investigation of shtetel conditions puts us on guard against such oversimplification. It suggests that the process of evaluating modes of behavior has two separate aspects. Whereas prestige indicates the value attached to an office or action by institutionalized definition, esteem implies the evaluation by other persons of the measure of success or failure in carrying out the stipulations of a position, and also their appraisal of the motives for the prestige-action and of the way in which it is performed.[4]

There are, for instance—according to Maimonides—eight degrees in the duty of charity. The first and lowest degree is to give, but with reluctance and regret. It will be a gift of the hand but not of the heart. At the other end of the scale, the seventh degree is the bestowing of charity in such a way that the benefactor may not know the persons to whom he is giving, nor they the name of their benefactor; while the eighth step, the most meritorious, is to anticipate charity by preventing poverty.[5] All these actions, without exception, secure prestige in the shtetel, but only the more meritorious will also bring popular esteem.

To complete the picture of these social ascendancy relations, attention should be called to the antithetical structure of prestige-giving and esteem-expressing devices. While the first (as, for instance, scientific degrees, titles, etc.) are accorded after fulfillment of institutionally fixed requirements, the latter (such as the degree of doctor *honoris causa*) are always voluntarily bestowed upon a deserving person. Similarly, in the shtetel, the ranking of prestige-giving devices (the reading of certain portions of the Torah aloud in the religious service, distribution of seats in the synagogue, etc.) is well established. However, the conditions under which these devices are employed appear to be rather fluid. The determining factors may be learning, wealth, or lineage. Sometimes it is con-

4 A similar distinction, limited to status and office, is made by Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York, 1949), pp. 93-94.

5 *A Treasury of Jewish Folklore*, edited by Nathan Ausubel (New York, 1948), p. 124.

venient to pay this honor to naked personal power. Often the community utilizes these devices to collect money for charitable and socially urgent aims, and a single use of them is auctioned off to the highest bidder. Such allocation of prestige is seldom satisfactory to everyone, and there is always a good deal of criticism and controversy involved in this procedure. By contrast, esteem is expressed by popular consensus of opinion. The whole community will attend the funeral of an extremely pious and charitable person, whether man or woman. With hardly a word of dissent, the most honorific place at the cemetery will be assigned to a great rabbi or to a godly, unselfish, and warm-hearted person, whether poor or rich, descendant of an important lineage or not.

The extraordinary recognition accorded to an individual after death, in this characteristic behavior of the shtetel community, attests to his particularly intense fulfillment of social and religious norms. In this instance, respect and admiration are paid to the ideals of the culture as exemplified, to a maximum degree, in the life and conduct of one person. While all the members of the group share the basic tenets of the religious code, it is understood that not everyone is able or required to reach the ideal. As one informant put it:

> The Law was set up for the normal and average man. The righteous—the zaddik—lives still better than the Law demands of him in the strictest sense.

However, since the social code of the Torah not only specifies norms of conformity for the average individual, but also provides formulas for an ideal course of action, an element of personal discretion and the possibility of individual judgment is introduced. In fact, within the limits imposed by tradition and its flexible rules, almost every individual feels free to select his own personal code of behavior: "Every Jew has his own Shulkhan Arukh," says the proverb (referring to the authoritative code drawn up by Joseph Caro in the sixteenth century). This typical attitude is well illustrated in the following account:

> . . . All three of them (my father and my two grandfathers) followed the general prescriptions of the Jewish religion without the slightest transgression (at least consciously). But the interpretation of these prescriptions was purely individualistic and often limited to the particular group they belonged to. Each one of them considered the others either "too liberal" or "too fanatic."
>
> When one grandfather refused to take medicine during the fast of Yom Kippur, one faction of the family considered him a fanatic because the Talmud says that in case of sickness this is permitted, while the other faction contended that he was right, since this exception to the general rule (of fasting) was meant only for "weaklings."

The interplay between individual "autonomy" and group pressure toward conformity creates a distinctive social stratification in the shtetel. Personal class

feelings and competitive striving for prestige are in constant opposition to community sentiment favoring equality and disparaging all dividing influences. Since tradition is strong and pervasive, corporate class consciousness can hardly prevail.

In point of fact, status in the shtetel is mostly achieved, and only seldom ascribed. Prestige attached to an office or social position is rarely transferred to the incumbent's person. His actions, intrinsic worth, and personal attributes are the only factors on which he is judged by the other members of the community.

The three main criteria of social stratification are (1) book-learning, (2) ikhus (lineage), and (3) wealth. These categories operate in communal life in a highly complex and variable way, according to the requirements of the situation. Ideally, learning and ikhus should take precedence over wealth. In principle, ranking prestige belongs to the scholar, whatever his background, rather than to the man of wealth and power. And, in formal and informal situations where learning is needed and decisive, this order of superiority will be observed. But since learned and pious men are often poor, and since the community is constantly in need of financial support, wealth will very often be given more weight, and honors will be accorded to the rich if they spend their wealth to help others.

The emphasis on "lineage" is closely associated with the criteria of moral life, "good manners," and family standing. "Ikhus" may be defined as the sum total of all the values that set the social status of the family, including origins, genealogy, provenience.[6] In large measure, a family's ikhus depends upon the number of learned and notably charitable persons who belonged or belong to it. Though ikhus descends through the family tree, it must be validated by the activities of the heir himself, or he does not effectively partake in it. Interestingly enough, ikhus can be acquired, not only by inheritance but through a person's own scholastic achievements or business successes as well.

Wealth represents a strong potentiality for ascendance on the social ladder. Riches, by themselves, count heavily in a poor community. Material possessions bolster personal power, even though repugnant to the group. Under many circumstances it is necessary to bow to a rich, selfish, and ignorant man. On the other hand, if worldly goods are spent by their possessor with "a broad hand" for the welfare of his fellow-Jews, and when his giving is motivated by kindness, deference to social norms, and a sense of right and social justice, then this conduct assures him not only prestige and status, but popular esteem as well. Indeed, such benefactions are the principal badge of Jewishness.

In consonance with the above-discussed conceptions, the basic social division in the shtetel is formulated as a dichotomy between Sheyne Yidn (literally:

6 Zborowski, *The Place of Book-Learning in Traditional Jewish Culture.*

beautiful Jews, here intended in a spiritual and moral sense), and Proste Yidn (common Jews). The first group is at the top of the social pyramid, while the second group is at the bottom. The delineation is in terms of extremes in social rating, and disregards possible intermediate levels. This throws into sharp relief the polarity of ideal aspirations in the culture, and the lack of these essential values in one part of the population. In this distinction there has been partly preserved the old gradation—established centuries before—between the learned scholar (Talmid Khokhem) and the ignorant, coarse and rough common men "of the earth" (Am-ha'aretz). When asked to explain the difference between Sheyne and Proste Yidn, one informant stated it in the following words:

"A "Proste Yid" is a laborer, a coachman, etc. This has nothing to do with wealth. A "Proste Yid" is one who is not learned, who can't read or write and whose behavior is "prost" and vulgar. He may also be an "aroifge-arbeter chazer" (a nouveau-riche pig). A "Sheyne Yid" has "hadras punim" (spiritual "face"). He is well educated and he is good. He may have money or not, but usually he has money. The "Sheyne Yid" sees to it that poor people have what is needed to eat, that they have what is necessary to make the Sabbath, and that there be order in the community. Many people come to them to solve their problems or to straighten out a situation between quarrelling individuals. You know that one of the first principles of the Torah is that people should make up after a quarrel, for God will forgive if a person sins against Him, but He will not forgive when two people sin against each other and do not pardon each other. The Sheyne Yid will see to it that quarrels be settled. And they are doing all this of their own free will. They are never paid for these services. There is something else Sheyne Yidn used to do. They would study where Proste Yidn may hear them and perhaps learn something. There is for example some time left between the Mincha and Maarev (afternoon and evening) prayers. No one would go home from the synagogue. They would sit in the "shul" and study. The Sheyne Yidn would study aloud and the Proste Yidn would listen and ask questions. As a matter-of-fact, Sheyne Yidn often invited such questions from the Proste Yidn and frequently over one paragraph in the Talmud they would spend hours. This was the role of a Sheyne Yid in the shtetel.

The class-distinction of Sheyne and Proste Yidn, with the former inculcating socially-desired norms into the latter by means of example, education, and the informal dispensing of justice ("setting quarrels"), is commonly used, but is only one of several other modes of social disparity which separately or jointly criss-cross the shtetel's social structure. Status is determined to some extent by the position one holds in the occupational hierarchy, ranging from rich merchants and manufacturers, through independent retail dealers, skilled craftsmen, and small shopkeepers, to the mass of shoemakers, tailors, draymen, day-laborers, etc. Another scale of social gradation, cutting through economic lines, is represented by

religious vocations. All this maze of levels of status, distinctive criteria, degrees and norms of social achievement, etc., has been said to make of the shtetel a most status-ridden community. As Mary Antin observes:

> It was a caste system with social levels sharply marked off and the families united by clannish ties. The rich looked down on the poor, the merchants looked down on the artisans, and within the ranks of the artisans higher and lower grades were distinguished.[7]

The same peculiarity is noted in another informant's report:

> I spent one winter in a typical Lithuanian shtetel, one hundred miles from the nearest railroad. Every family there had ikhus. They sincerely felt that each claim was justified, though people outside of a given family may not have felt that way or wouldn't acknowledge the claim.

In contradistinction to subjective class attitudes and factual social and economic divisions, the social system in the shtetel guarantees to the individual the opportunity of upward mobility. Theoretically at least, the various criteria of social ranking—learning, ikhus, and wealth—are accessible and open to every Jew. The community, or its well-to-do members, will subsidize and support the poor but gifted student. A promising scholar of a "common" family will be eagerly sought out for a son-in-law by men of wealth and ikhus. The bridegroom's father and family will gain ikhus through the boy's marital alliance. Conversely, a rich man without ikhus may acquire it by marrying off his child to a member of a destitute family which has learned ancestral tradition.

A second element of equalization is introduced into the social stratification by the requirement that status-position be constantly validated by appropriate actions on the part of the individual. Indeed, no criterion—with the possible exception of learning—is assumed to give permanent title in itself to social privileges. Every claim to prestige is controlled and tested by other members of the group. One can ruin one's reputation by not living or behaving properly. Benefactions must be performed systematically; ikhus must be earned in day-by-day activity. Thus, ascendance to prestige positions becomes a function of actual attainment, and ranking is highly situational at any point of time.

In this situation one must not accept, permanently or temporarily, one's place on the social ladder by conceding someone else's higher rating and acquiescing in the lower position of one's own. By the very fact of plural criteria, and the numerous qualifications attached to them, the shtetel community gives every individual

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7 Mary Antin, *The Promised Land* (New York, 1912), p. 30.

an opportunity to participate in the spirited contest for prestige, and opens to him access to social rewards and renown. An interesting example of this attitude is quoted in the autobiography of Mary Antin:

> My father's grandfather, who knew Hebrew only enough to teach beginners, was famous through a good part of the Russian Pale for his holy life. Israel Kimanyer he was called, from the village of Kimanye where he lived. People were proud to establish even the most distant relationship with him. My great-grandfather was poor to the verge of beggary, but he prayed more than other people, shared his last crust with every beggar he met by chance, never failed in the slightest observance enjoined upon Jews, and sat up nights to commune with God. His family connections included country peddlers, starving artisans and never-do-wells; but my great-grandfather was a Zaddik—a man of piety—and the fame of his good life redeemed the whole wretched clan. When his grandson, my father, came to marry, he boasted his direct descent from Israel and picked his bride from the best families.[8]

The social distinctions sketched briefly above are reflected in the synagogue, where lines of social interaction and communication converge. Here men play their fundamental roles in the group system, and here the individual looks for communal recognition of his status and prestige.

In keeping with ritualistic prescription, the sexes are separated in the synagogue. The main section is occupied by the male population, while women sit in a special gallery one floor above, which is connected with the synagogue proper through small windows. The seating arrangement during prayers reproduces the hierarchic structure of the community. Along the Eastern Wall, to which all seats are oriented, are ranged the most honored and prominent members of the congregation: the rabbi, his assistants, the men of great learning, and the negidim—rich men with ikhus and high social standing. The occupants of these seats are called collectively Sheyne Yidn (Beautiful Jews), Pneh (the Face of the Community), or "der Mizrakh" (the East).

The seats facing the Eastern Wall belong to the Balabatim (householders, burghers)—men of independent means and status. The value of these seats decreases with their distance from the Eastern Wall, so that the last ranks are occupied by the Proste Yidn (common Jews). Near the entrance a wooden table with benches around it is reserved for beggars and strangers if the latter have not yet been introduced to the community.

Three times a day (in practice, twice—see the quotation on page 248 above) a good Jew goes to the synagogue to say his prayers. Many shtetel Jews will spend their evenings there, and devote other time free from professional pursuits to the study of the Law.

8 Antin, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

Through the intermediacy of the synagogue the shtetel keeps in close touch with other Jewish communities throughout the world. Wandering preachers, book-sellers, scholars, and students from other towns and villages—even from foreign countries—visit the synagogue and pass along news about happenings in distant places. People collecting contributions for Jewish communities stricken by some disaster or pogrom, and for holy institutions in Palestine, would stop here to announce the purpose of their visit. Any stranger from out of town will proceed first to the House of Prayer to get acquainted with distinguished members of the congregation, one of whom will certainly invite him to his home as an honored guest.

By the very nature of religious participation, the synagogue is the natural meeting-place of the community. Here vital problems of socio-political life are examined, discussed, and resolved. Internal politics, communal affairs, personal relations between neighbors, etc., are the topics of unceasing debate and argument. In the intimate atmosphere of the synagogue, important events such as births, marriages, deaths, sickness, departures, and reunions are announced, evaluated, criticized, and justified.

Through constant interchange of views in the precincts of the synagogue, popular opinion takes shape and consensus of opinion emerges. Here public controversies and private grievances may also be called to the attention of the assembled congregation. Any member of the congregation—rich or poor, educated or ignorant—may walk over to the prayer table, strike the book with the palm of his hand and thus interrupt the religious services. Until his complaint is acted upon, or unless he is cried down, the worshippers cannot proceed with their prayers.

The unifying role of the synagogue is most clearly seen in its linking of community and family life. Starting with the birth of the child, through name-giving, circumcision of the boy and his later confirmation (bar-Mitzvah), to marriage and death, each high point in the life-cycle of the individual and family is punctuated in the House of Prayer by ceremonies and customary practices in which the entire community participates physically or symbolically. Since this procedure is duplicated in the home by symmetrical celebrations, a continuous process of interpenetration and interaction between the main social structures, family and community, takes place.

Social intercourse stimulated by this endless repetition of standard events leaves no room in the shtetel for physical or emotional privacy, whether in the home or outside. Gregariousness appears to be norm-prescribed conduct. Loneliness is thought of as unnatural. Isolation, seclusion, and withdrawal from close

contact with fellow-Jews is always the cause of resentment and suspicion. The lines of physical and verbal communication that connect each individual with the consecutively widening circles of family, community, and Jewry, must always be kept open for transmission of messages, and for preserving the identity of thought and action within the group. To be on non-speaking terms with another person is therefore a negative value in interpersonal relations. It is more dangerous to the stability of the group system than curses, invective, or continuous quarreling. As might be expected, any outsider is qualified to intervene in order to effect a reconciliation between the parties involved in a situation of the former sort.

In conjunction with the already mentioned insistence on the essential equality of all Jews, gregariousness has other important concomitants. There is a strong tendency in the shtetel to regard any kind of regimentation as external, imposed, and disruptive. "They want every situation to be individualized," was the comment of a social worker in a Home for Aged Jews in New York, where a large proportion of the aged Jews were of European shtetel origin. Every person has the right to express his opinion and to disagree with the opinion of others. An argument is therefore hardly ever settled. No one has the last word, unless this is clearly prescribed by the Law. Obviously, the value attached to differing points of view works against the concentration of authority in any one person, and contributes to the horizontal diffusion of authority. Allegiance is not due to the rabbi or scholar but to the rules of the Torah.

Authority is not recognized as an intrinsic attribute or quality of any person. The dissociation of authority from its holder is always possible. In fact, the shtetel Jew is brought into line more by sanctions expected from people surrounding him than by orders or threats from someone standing above him in the social hierarchy. In this closely welded group, people are constantly thrown together in face-to-face relationships, and therefore count in each other's lives. It is the whole community that praises or censures a person, accords or denies prestige and esteem. There is no escape from this pressure. Indeed, the sense of accountability to the group, implied in the typical question "What will people say?" often goes so far as to suggest that for many shtetel Jews their true individual ego is that which is mirrored in social prestige and approval.

The group is able to impose restrictive disciplines upon the individual, while he, on the other hand, derives security from the social cohesion and solidarity of the group. No problem in his private or public life is completely his own personal problem. The community which shares his good and bad fortune also controls and examines all his actions, partakes and joins in his responsibility for the fulfillment of obligations defined by the Law. This is why the essential function of authority

in the shtetel consists in guidance and advising rather than in commanding or exercising power over other persons. Authority is directional instead of coercive, for its source lies in the competent knowledge and wisdom of the bearer and in his ability to assist in the particular field of conduct where help is required. In the task entrusted to him he is to function effectively wihout trying to intimidate or impose his will upon others.

It is presupposed by the shtetel Jew that authority must not controvert personal "autonomy." The role of the authority-holder is not to dominate but to inspire, to set an example, to act as mediator and moderator. He is expected to help in the complicated scheme of day-to-day living under the myriad rules of shtetel life, but is not entitled to any prerogatives which would give him superiority or advantage over others. The rabbi is the locus of decision in matters of cult and ritual definitely assigned to him by the religious code. In other matters his counsel and guidance will be accepted only to the extent that it appears reasonable to the persons consulting him. Undoubtedly scholarly opinion carries great weight and commands respect, but knowledge in itself is not sufficient to determine conclusively the validity of an expert judgment. The shtetel Jew believes that human mind is not infallible, and that truth is multiform and not absolute. In addition, there are areas of truth which, for one reason or another, are inaccessible to mortals. The apparent and perceptible meaning is not always the true, full, or intrinsic meaning of the Torah.

For all these reasons, exercise of authority in the shtetel not only permits but requires constant scrutiny and criticism by those who submit to it. The acceptance of authority is conditional and depends upon the manner and results of its performance. To endure, it must constantly be validated.

In this type of authority the holder must show himself to possess the prime virtues of the culture. Greatness in oneself and in relation to others is the attribute principally expected from a person in authority. In the shtetel-Gemeinschaft even an outstanding personality is not supposed to transgress the identical culture-forms he shares with other members of the community, but is expected rather to incorporate in himself to the maximum extent the ideal values of the traditional culture. As one informant phrased it:

> Do you know what a Zaddik is? I'll tell you. In the Jewish religion there are 613 mitzvos (good deeds, also Divine commands). The average person cannot perform all these good deeds. But one who can abide by all 613 commandments is known as a Zaddik.

Authority in the shtetel is, then, the result of achievement. It entails the largest responsibility and the greatest effort. It consists of doing most and giving

most. Hence, the position of an authority-holder in the shtetel—be it a rabbi, a zaddik, a negid, or anyone else—depends on the recognition by the community of an actual greatness underlying his actions. In the circumstances of shtetel life, where anonymity cannot be preserved, any pose of omniscience, omnipotence, or ideal perfection would be speedily exposed. All the more so since authority is, by its very existence, a challenge to individual "autonomy" and to the egalitarian assumptions which are of such decisive importance in the shtetel.

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THE BLOND MANDAN: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF AN OLD PROBLEM[1]

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INTRODUCTION

SOME of the 18th and 19th century explorers and traders visiting the Mandan Indians on the upper Missouri River were struck by physical and cultural features that seemed out of place to them in the northern Plains. Their reports of blondism and other non-Indian physical traits, an unusual language and mythology, fortified villages and a developed horticulture provided the evidence for two theories of Mandan origin through pre-Columbian contact with Europeans. One of these theories, widely held in the latter part of the 18th century, and revived in 1841 by the artist George Catlin, was that the Mandan were the descendants of a legendary 12th century expedition of Welsh led by Madoc.[2] The other theory claimed the Mandan to be the mixed descendants of Scandinavian explorers. The most recent version of this theory identifies the Scandinavians as members of a 14th century expedition led by Paul Knutson.[3] These theories stimulated me to look into the question of blondism and other non-Indian physical traits attributed to the Mandan of one to two centuries ago.

The information bearing upon this question lies almost wholly in the explorers' and traders' reports. The few Mandan living today are too mixed with other tribes and with recent Whites to give any clear picture of what the pre-contact Mandan were like.[4] There are, however, a few early portraits and photographs (see Plates 1 to 3). Only a few identifiably Mandan skeletons have been recovered,[5] not enough to provide representative data. Therefore I have had to be

1 This paper is an outgrowth of one read before the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, April 12, 1949. (Published with the permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.)

2 See Williams, 1949, for a historical summary of the Madoc legend.

3. Holand, 1940, Chapter 22.

4 The only anthropometric study of living Mandan is a mixed series of 156 Mandan and Hidatsa men measured at the Worlds Columbian Exposition in 1893 and briefly noted by Boas (1895, p. 389). Twelve measurements, as well as observations on nose form, eye form, hair, eye and skin color were taken by a group of hastily trained observers. Boas felt that the personal error in most of these determinations was too great to permit valid comparative analyses, and hence he published only the bare figures on stature and cephalic index on putatively full-blooded Indians from a number of tribes. It is understood that the Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, is reworking the Columbian Exposition measurements.

5 Strong (1940, p. 363) mentioned 7 adult Mandan crania from the Old Fort Abraham Lincoln site, and 1 more skull from the Double Ditch site. In the United States National Museum collections is 1 Mandan skull (U.S.N.M. 262,136) acquired from Prof W. K. Moorehead, from "a Mandan village site, North Dakota." These comprise all the Mandan skeletal material a casual search uncovered.

content with an analysis of the eye-witness reports. The areas of agreement in these reports have provided several points of high probable validity which I have interpreted in the light of modern knowledge.

REPORTS OF WHITE INDIANS

The earliest reports of White Indians that I have located were those told to La Verendrye in the 1720's before he made the first recorded visit to the Mandan. His informants were the Cree and Assiniboine around the Lake of the Woods. According to La Verendrye, they

> . . . took the Ouachipounnes [Mandan] for Frenchmen; they talk and sing like us, their forts and houses are very much like ours, except that the roofs are flat and covered with earth and stones, and their houses have cellars in which they store their Indian corn in great wicker baskets . . . .
>
> They are very tall of stature, white in colour, with hair light, chestnut, and red, and in a few cases black; they have beards which they either cut or pull out, though a few allow it to grow; they walk with their feet turned out. . . .[6]

This description continued for several pages, giving quite complete treatment to the actual manners and customs of the Mandan, embroidered, however, with strange figments of Cree-Assiniboine imagination.[7]

In 1738, however, La Verendrye was able to lead a party to the Mandan villages. After his first meeting with the Mandan, when thirty of them were present, his reaction was strong:

> I confess I was greatly surprised, as I expected to see people quite different from the other savages according to the stories that had been told us. They [the Mandan] do not differ from the Assiniboin, being naked except for a garment of buffalo skin carelessly worn without any breechcloth. I knew then that there was a large discount to be taken off all that had been told me.[8]

La Verendrye visited only one of the smaller Mandan villages and had been there only three days when he was deserted by his Cree interpreter. Thus, during the remaining two days of his stay, he was reduced to communicating with the Mandan by signs. In this manner he received an accurate, apparently eye-witness account of the Spanish colonists to the South. However he apparently did not recognize these ". . . people white like ourselves who worked in iron" as Spaniards.[9]

6 Burpee, 1927, pp. 119-120.
7 Burpee, 1927, p. 10.
8 Burpee, 1927, pp. 319-320.
9 Burpee, 1927, pp. 336-337.

When La Verendrye returned to the Assiniboine, he chided them for their fabrications about the Mandan. The Assiniboine replied "... that they did not mean the Mandan when they spoke of a nation like us, that they meant the nation that dwells down the river and that works in iron."[10] It would seem that the Assiniboine, as well as the Mandan, knew of the Spanish.

La Verendrye's visit to the Mandan set off a number of White Indian reports which filtered back from the frontiers to the White settlements in the east. Coues mentioned a 1764 trader's list of aborigines in which figured "the Mandanes or Blanc Barbus [White Beards]," seen by La Verendrye.[11] The latter, by the way, said nothing about white beards in his journals. Another garbled version of what appears to be La Verendrye's visit was reported in 1805 by a Mr B. Durocher,[12] but referred to his recollections of a conversation with Canadian travellers in Montreal over twenty-five years before. According to these recollections, sometime prior to 1760 the French government sent a party of fifty to sixty Canadians to make discoveries toward the source of the Missouri River. About 600-700 leagues above the Missouri's juncture with the Mississippi, the party's progress was

> ... stopped by meeting with an Indian nation, very numerous, having long beards and a complexion as white as that of Europeans, and their language totally different from that of the nations which they had passed, so that it was impossible to understand them; but they [the party] perceived very quickly the great discontent which their presence in the country occasioned, so that they were unable to prevail upon any of them to accept of the least present.
>
> This extraordinary circumstance determined them to leave as soon as possible to continue their voyage in ascending the river; but it was then that this nation arose in arms against them, making threatening signs, and prohibiting any further ascent into their country, and obliging them to alter their course.[13]

Another and more general White Indian story was published in 1784:

> Letters from Boston mention that a new nation of White people has been discovered about 2,000 miles beyond the Appalachian Mountains. They are said to be acquainted with the principles of the Christian religion, and to be exceedingly courteous and civilized. This account was brought by the Indians to Boston, and concurs with others which were reported by two French missionaries at Montreal last year.[14]

Indians were usually the originators of these White Indian stories. Whether

10 Burpee, 1927, p. 354.
11 Coues, 1893, p. 159 fn.
12 Medical Repository, 1806, pp. 113-114.
13 Medical Repository, *loc. cit.*
14 Pennsylvania Packet, Aug. 24, 1784.

"they were incapable of telling a plain unvarnished tale,"[15] or whether their White listeners simply mistook stories of the Spaniards for stories of the Mandan is uncertain. But the result was that explorers were on the lookout for civilized White Indians. In some cases this may have influenced their eye-witness reports.

WHITE INTERMIXTURE

Another factor to consider is intermixture between the Mandan and the explorers and traders themselves. To document this, we must review the history of White visitors to the Mandan villages. In 1738 La Verendrye's party of twenty-five whites feasted for five days in one of the smaller villages. Two of the party were left there nine months to learn the language. In 1742 La Verendrye's sons returned to the Mandan villages on their way east. Between 1742 and 1763, when France ceded Canada to Britain, other French visits to the Mandan were likely; in fact there is a brief mention of one such visit in 1750.[16] Menard, the first squaw-man to the Mandan, came to stay with them about 1765.[17]

Following the cession of Canada to Britain, independent traders from Montreal began filtering into the Mandan villages by the overland route. Macintosh's party arrived there in 1773.[18] The increase in independent traders spurred the Hudsons Bay Company into greater activity. This in turn forced the independents to form the North West Company in 1784. From then on, the Mandan villages were the gateway to the upper Missouri fur trade. As the competition between the rival companies heightened, the number of White visitors increased. In 1793 Fort Mandan was erected as a special wintering post.

The Commercial Company of St Louis brought more White traders to the Mandan villages by keel boat, from 1796 until its bankruptcy a few years later. Beginning in 1807, the keel boats of the Missouri Fur Company also carried trade goods to the Mandan villages, and returned to St Louis with furs. By 1820, however, fur trading was carried on past the declining Mandan to the more westerly tribes.

There can be no doubt that during all these years many White men visited the Mandan, and that considerable numbers wintered in their villages. Thompson, whose visit was in 1797, leaves little doubt as to how these White men were received, when he says,

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15 Burpee, 1927, p. 10.

16 Schoolcraft, 1853, p. 248.

17 Larocque, 1910, p. 17. In 1805 Menard was said to have lived about forty years with the Mandan.

18 Schoolcraft, 1853, p. 248.

The curse of the Mandanes is an almost total want of chastity; this, the men with me knew, and I found it was almost their sole motive for the journey hereto. The goods they brought, they sold at 50 to 60 percent above what they cost; and reserving enough to pay their debts, and buy corn, spent the rest on women.[19]

With sexual access to Mandan women easy, the probable genetic effect of the White man's visits can be roughly outlined. From the first known visit by La Verendrye in 1738 to the 1780's, it is probable that sojourns in the Mandan villages by Europeans were only occasional and the number of mixed offspring small. From about 1790 on, however, the volume of White visitors increased, so that by the time of Lewis and Clark's visit (1804-05) considerable intermixture probably had taken place. When Catlin and Maximilian arrived in the 1830's, there probably had been enough interbreeding to form a mixed-breed group of one or two generations' standing.

The effect of White admixture was undoubtedly accentuated by the decline of Mandan population from an estimated 8,000-15,000 in 1738 to 1,520 in 1797.[20] The sharpest decline was during the severe smallpox epidemic of 1781, shortly after which Sioux war parties destroyed the nine Mandan villages in the Heart River area. The survivors fled up the Missouri to join the Hidatsa near the mouth of the Knife River.

EYE-WITNESS REPORTS

La Verendrye's bare report of the physical characteristics of the Mandan as he saw them in 1738 is in apparent contradiction to his denial of Mandan distinctiveness from other tribes (see p. 256). He stated,

This tribe is of mixed blood, black and white. The women are rather handsome, particularly the light-colored ones; they have an abundance of fair hair.[21]

19 Tyrrell, 1916, pp. 234-235.

20 In 1738 La Verendrye visited only the upstream village on the east bank of the Missouri near the mouth of the Heart River. There he counted 130 earth lodges. The other five villages downstream were larger, according to his native informants. In fact, one of La Verendrye's sons visited a larger downstream village and declared it to be twice the size of the one upstream (Burpee, 1927, p. 344). Will and Spinden (1906, p. 99) assumed therefore at least 1000 lodges in the six villages. Interpolating from Lewis and Clark's statement (Coues, 1893, p. 197) that the two remaining villages in 1805 totalled 100 lodges and could muster 350 warriors, Will and Spinden estimated the 1738 population to have been at least 15,000.

Using Will and Spinden's lodge estimate of 1,000, but following Thompson's 1797 estimate (Tyrrell, 1916, p. 228) of eight individuals per lodge, I estimate a minimum of 8,000 Mandan in 1738.

Thompson's 1797 population estimate for 190 Mandan lodges was 1520 (Tyrrell, 1916, p. 228).

21 Burpee, 1927, p. 340.

There are certain ambiguities in this statement that are hard to resolve. For example, the phrase "... of mixed blood, black and white" suggests that he was only describing the range of hair color, since Indian skin color in the northern Plains could hardly be described as black. This suggestion is strengthened by two other points which are discussed on page 264.

The next account is that of d'Eglise, who pioneered the upstream route from St Louis to the Mandan villages in 1790. He remarked to Trudeau that the Mandan "... are white like Europeans, much more civilized than any other Indians." [22]

In 1796-97, John Evans, in the employ of the Missouri Fur Company, spent over six months with the Mandan. He was thoroughly familiar with the story of the 12th century expedition of Welsh led by Madoc; in fact, Thomas Jefferson himself believed that Evans' "... original object ... had been to go in search of the Welsh Indians said to be up the Missouri." [23] Although Evans did not comment on the physical characteristics of the Mandan, his observations forced him to deny the existence of Welsh Indians along the Missouri.[24]

According to David Thompson, who saw the Mandan in 1797,

> Both men and women are of a stature fully equal to Europeans; and as fair as our french canadians; their eyes of a dark hazel, their hair of dark brown or black, but not coarse; prominent nose, cheek bones moderate.[25]

Lewis and Clark, who wintered with the Mandan in 1804-05, made general comment on their light pigmentation, and remarked upon a half-breed boy among them.[26] Sgt Gass, in the same party, stated, "These Indians have better [lighter?] complexions than most other Indians, and many of the children have fair hair." [27]

Alexander Henry, who visited the Mandan during the summer of 1806, had this to say:

> What struck me as extraordinary among these people was several children about 10 years old, whose hair was perfectly grey, and who thus resembled aged persons; those I saw were all girls. The people in general have not such strong coarse hair as other natives of North America; they have it much finer, rather inclining to dark brown, and I observed some whose hair was almost fair. . . . Their eyes are not of that jet black which is common to other Indians, but, like their hair, inclined to a dark brown; some few are dark grey.[28]

22 Nasatir, 1927, pp. 57-58.
23 Thwaites, 1904, pp. 291-292.
24 Monthly Magazine, pp. 161-162.
25 Tyrrell, 1916, p. 233.
26 Coues, 1893, vol. 1, p. 185.
27 Gass, 1811, p. 59.
28 Coues, 1897, p. 341.

Bradbury, who passed through the Mandan villages in 1811, indicated his surprise that the wife and child of one of the chiefs had brown hair, although "... their skins did not appear to be lighter coloured than the rest of the tribe." [29] The wife was said to be over forty years of age, and therefore not as likely as a younger person to have been a mixed-breed.

The fullest description of the Mandan comes from the artist Catlin who visited their villages in 1832. The following statements seem to have been slanted in support of his Welsh Indian theory.

A stranger in the Mandan village is first struck with the different shades of complexion and various colours of hair which he sees in a crowd about him; and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that "these are not Indians."

There are a great many of these people whose complexions appear as light as half-breeds; and amongst the women particularly, there are many whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry and proportion of the features; with hazel, with grey, and with blue eyes. . . .

The diversity in the colour of the hair is almost equally as great as that in the complexion; for in a numerous group of these people (and more particularly amongst the females, who never take pains to change its natural colour, as the men often do), there may be seen every shade and colour of hair that can be seen in our own country [England], with the exception of red or auburn, which is not to be found. . . . There are very many, of both sexes and of every age, from infancy to manhood to old age, with hair of a bright silvery grey, and in some instances almost perfectly white. . . . I have ascertained, on a careful enquiry, that about 1 in 10 or 12 of the whole tribe are what the French call "cheveux gris" . . . and that this strange and unaccountable phenomenon is not the result of disease or habit, but that it is unquestionably a hereditary character which runs in families. . . . And by passing this hair through my hands, . . . I have found it uniformly to be as coarse and harsh as a horse's mane; differing materially from the hair of other colours, which amongst the Mandans, is generally as fine and as soft as silk.[30]

In a later publication, Catlin gave a rather different version of the Mandan appearance.

In complexion, colour of hair, and eyes, they generally bore a family resemblance to the rest of the American tribes, but there were exceptions, constituting perhaps one-fifth or one-sixth part of the tribe, whose complexions were nearly white, with hair of a silvery-grey from childhood to old age, their eyes light blue, their faces oval, devoid of the salient angles so strongly characterizing all other American tribes and owing, unquestionably, to the infusion of some foreign stock.[31]

29 Bradbury, 1817, p. 150.

30 Catlin, 1841, pp. 93-94. From his hair studies on the modern United States population, Dr Stanley M. Garn states, "While grey adult hair is frequently larger in diameter than pigmented hair, much of this apparent size difference is an optical illusion."

31 Catlin, 1867, p. 5.

The differences between the two statements suggest that in his later writings Catlin decided that because of recent White admixture only the strange combination of grey hair, light skin and eyes, and oval faces constituted good evidence of Welsh influence. Unfortunately for his argument, his portrait (Plate 1) of a Mandan girl with grey hair fails to show light skin and eye color.

Maximilian, the first trained scientist to see the Mandan, reached their villages in the early summer of 1833, and returned to them that autumn. He held a very low opinion of Catlin's Welsh Indian theory, and stated that there was no evidence of White influence in the Mandan villages prior to the 18th Century. Of the physical appearance of the Mandan he stated,

> Their physiognomy is, in general, the same as that of most of the Missouri Indians, but their noses are not so long and arched as those of the Sioux, nor have they such high cheekbones. The nose of the Mandans and Manitares [Hidatsa] is not as broad—sometimes aquiline or slightly curved, and often quite straight. The eyes are, in general, long and narrow, of a dark brown colour. The mouth is broad, large, rather prominent, and the lower jaw broad and angular. . . . Their hair is long, thick, lank and black. . . . That of the children is often only dark brown, especially at the tips. . . . There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is grey, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears grey.[32]

Maximilian also spoke of a Mandan man between twenty and thirty years old, who had "distinct locks of brown, black, silvery grey [hair], but mostly white, and his eyebrows perfectly white." [33]

Of skin color he stated,

> The colour of these Indians is a fine brown, sometimes reddish, more or less dark, which might, sometimes, come under the denomination of copper colour. In some it is more of a greyish-brown, in others yellowish; after a thorough ablution the skin of some of them appears almost white, and even some colour in their cheeks.[34]

He also indicated that the notion that the Mandan had "fairer complexions" than other Indians was as unfounded as the assertion that they spoke Gaelic.[35]

D. D. Mitchell, an American Fur Company trader and later an Indian Agency superintendent, came to the upper Missouri country in 1830. It is probable that he visited the Mandan villages before the smallpox epidemic of 1837. Mitchell stated that the Mandan were

> altogether different from the Indians occupying that region of the country. . . . Apart

32 Thwaites, 1906, pp. 255-256.
33 Thwaites, 1906, pp. 256.
34 Thwaites, 1906, pp. 258.
35 Thwaites, 1906, p. 366.

MANDAN GIRL

George Catlin's portrait of a 12-year old Mandan girl with grey hair (Catlin no. 134). The apparent light patch at the hair line on the forehead is actually red in the painting. (Original in the United States National Museum.)

MANDAN MEN

St Mémin's portrait of Shahaka, also known as "Big White," a Mandan chief, born in 1765. Portrait made in 1804 using a very accurate physiognotrace technique. (Original in the New York Historical Society.)

Rushing War Eagle, a Mandan head chief, born in 1831. Photograph taken in 1874. Has appearance of being unmixed. (From Bureau of American Ethnology archives.)

from their peculiar language and habits, there is a physical peculiarity. A large portion of the Mandans have grey hair, and blue or light brown eyes, with a Jewish cast of features. It is not uncommon to see children of both sexes, from 5 to 6 years of age, with hair perfectly grey. They are also much fairer than the prairie or mountain tribes; though this may be attributable to the fact of their living in dirt lodges and less exposed to the sun. . . .[36]

After the smallpox epidemic reduced the Mandan to one hundred survivors (two of whom are pictured in Plates 2 and 3), two more observers provide us with pertinent comments. The first is the artist, Rudolph Kurz, who spent the early summer of 1850 at Fort Berthold. There he remarked upon a 14-year-old Mandan girl with entirely grey hair. She was referred to by Pierre Garreau as "la blonde."[37] Of the premature greying, Kurz stated that it ". . . is said to be quite general among the Mandan—a sort of family misfortune, not due to severe disease."[38] On blondism he asserted that,

What Catlin calls blond hair among the Mandan is nothing more than sun-burned hair that is not continually smeared with grease. . . . I may mention, also, that the lighter color of some Indians' skin (not only Mandan) is easily traced to the "Whites."[39]

The second post-epidemic observer was Washington Matthews. He spent several years at Fort Berthold in the late 1860's, and although his writings primarily concerned the Hidatsa, he had this to say about Indian blondism:

Among various tribes of western Indians may be found individuals, claiming pure aboriginal blood, who possess complexions much fairer than the average Indian, with light-colored eyes and hair. Such individuals are more common among the Mandans and Minnetaries [Hidatsa] than they are among most neighboring tribes. A natural or inherited clearness of complexion, too, is more easily discernible among members of village tribes than roving bands who are more exposed to the weather. The presence of pale Indians in these tribes was noted by travellers in the early days before intermarriages with whites were common enough to have accounted for it. . . . I have heard old Mandan say that when the Minnetaries, including the Crows, first came among them, the strangers were a fairer race than they. . . . It is not necessary to suppose an intermixture of European blood in order to account for lightness of color in an Indian. There is no reason why marked varieties of color should not arise in the Red Race as it has done in other races of man. . . . I have seen full-blooded Indians who were whiter than some half-breeds and whiter than the darkest representatives of the Aryan Race. An increase of hairiness is a more reliable sign of Caucasian blood in an Indian than a

36 Schoolcraft, 1853, p. 253.
37 Hewitt and Jarrell, 1937, p. 96.
38 *Idem*, p. 88.
39 *Idem*, p. 100.

diminution of color of the skin; and I never could discover that those fair Indians, claiming pure blood, were more hairy than others.[40]

Matthews quite properly considered premature greying separately. He stated:

Among various western tribes, individuals may be found who are characterized, even in childhood, by having coarse grey hair. From all I could see and learn, I should think that such persons are more numerous among the Minnetaries and Mandans than in any other tribe; and they are perhaps the most numerous among the Mandans.[41]

ANALYSIS OF EYE-WITNESS REPORTS

In presenting La Verendrye's bare statement that the Mandan were ". . . of mixed blood, black and white," it was suggested (see p. 260) that he was only speaking of hair color, since Indian skin color in the northern Plains could hardly be described as black. The reference to "white" is more likely to mean the premature greying of the hair, which, as we have seen, was common among the Mandan of the 19th century. Indeed, the last part of La Verendrye's statement, in the original French, reads ". . . surtout beaucoup de cheveu blon et *blanc*" (italics mine). This bracketing of blond and white hair may represent the same terminologic confusion seen in Pierre Gareau's allusion much later to a prematurely greying teen-age Mandan girl as "la blonde" (see p. 263). Furthermore, it may be pertinent that Catlin [42] noted that the young Mandan men with grey hair went to great pains to darken it with clays and dyes, but that the women did not bother to do so. Could this be the reason why, a century earlier, La Verendrye remarked on the "light colored women" but said nothing about the men?

If indeed, La Verendrye was referring to premature greying, this was the first of many references to this phenomenon among the Mandan. In fact, most of the eye-witness reports mention premature greying or whitening of the hair. Some of these reports indicated that it tended to run in families and seemed to affect both sexes equally. From a "careful enquiry" Catlin estimated that premature greying occurred in 1 in 10 or 1 in 12 of the entire tribe.

Undoubtedly this greying phenomenon was some kind of achromotrichia,[43] more likely the diffuse type than one of the pattern types, and neither sex-linked nor sex-influenced. Insofar as achromotrichia is understood, it is not linked genetically with light pigmentation of the skin and eyes, or with "non-salient"

40 Matthews, 1877, pp. 43-45.

41 Matthews, 1877, p. 45.

42 Catlin, 1841, p. 94.

43 Achromotrichia may be generally defined as the absence of pigment in the hair. Dr Garn states that the achromotrichia he studied in the modern United States population acts like a partial autosomal dominant without being sex-influenced.

European facial features (see p. 261). According to Maximilian (p. 262), Matthews (p. 264) and Garrand, premature greying cropped up in other Western tribes. Writing in the 1840's, Garrand stated,

> The queerest oddities with the Cheyennes are gray-haired children. From the age of three, up, they can be seen going about, like so many old men and women. The hair is not white or tow, but real streaked, black and gray, such as we would see on a man of forty-five.[44]

Matthews believed that premature greying was probably most common among the Mandan, and secondarily the Hidatsa.

All accounts agree that some of the Mandan were at least as light-skinned as darker Europeans. Not all agree, however, that the Mandan were lighter-skinned than other tribes. In this Maximilian was a notable dissenter (see p. 262). Beginning with Thompson in 1797, several accounts indicate that dark brown hair of fine texture and dark brown eyes were common among the Mandan. This was considered by Henry and others to be in contrast to other Indians whose norm was supposed to be coarse black hair and black eyes.

As early as 1804, fair-haired Mandan children were observed. These may have been mixed-breeds, since reference is made to a half-breed boy that same year.[45] Or they may simply have represented the partial blondism sometimes seen in young individuals of otherwise brunet races.

INTERPRETATION

In all probability, light skins and dark brown hair and eyes among the Mandan were pre-contact phenomena, which, before 1800, were augmented by White admixture. It is very doubtful, however, that the light skin color of the Mandan was unique among Western tribes. In fact, Matthews' Mandan informant stated that the Hidatsa and Crow were lighter-skinned than the Mandan themselves (p. 263). Thompson, who found the Mandan ". . . as fair as our french canadians" (p. 260), made similar remarks about the light skin color of the Cree, Inspaelis (Salish), and Piegan. Of the last he said,

> Their color is something like that of a Spaniard from the south of Spain, and this something like that of the French from the south of France, and this comparison is drawn from seeing them [French Canadians and Piegan] while bathing together.[46]

Alexander Henry also remarked that the Piegan were "rather swarthy,

44 Garrand, 1927, p. 117.
45 Coues, 1893, p. 185.
46 Tyrrell, 1916, p. 233.

although they frequently have a fair skin and grey eyes, with light hair." [47] Reynolds observed the Crow to be lighter than the Sioux,

> . . . many of the mountain band being sallow and hardly a shade darker than Whites who undergo similar exposure. This fact was so marked that the first seen were supposed to be half-breeds, but we were assured that they were of pure Indian descent.[48]

Larocque stated, regarding the Crow,

> Such of them as do not make practice of exposing themselves naked to the sun, have a skin nearly as white as that of white people. Those parts which the women keep concealed are likewise white, but their face, breast and arms and shoulders are burnt to the common copper colour of the Indians by the scorching rays of the sun. Most of those Indians as they do not so often go naked, are generally of a fairer skin than most of the other tribes with which I am acquainted. It is my opinion that the N.W. Americans in general were they brought up in the manner that we are, and their bodies kept from the burning heat of the sun, would in a few generations be as white as Europeans.[49]

Lewis and Clark stated that the Sioux and Lemhi Shoshone were darker than the Mandan and Hidatsa.[50]

In addition to indicating other light-skinned tribes in the northern Plains and adjacent areas, these reports suggest considerable differences in this respect from tribe to tribe. Possibly there was a rough south-north regression in skin color for the northern Plains, just as there appears to be in the Southwest.[51] Thus it may be significant that the 18th and 19th century travelers most struck by the light skin color of the Mandan were those who ascended the Missouri, passing through presumably darker Indians of the lower Missouri. In this group of travelers, d'Eglise, Lewis and Clark, and Catlin would figure. On the other hand, men like Thompson and Henry who travelled overland from the Assiniboine River posts apparently found the Mandan little or no lighter than the Cree and Assiniboine with whom they were familiar.

Whether there was a south-to-north decrease in skin pigmentation for the northern Plains tribes, we shall probably never know. At any rate, the inter-tribal range in this respect was probably not great in comparison to metric variability.[52] Within each tribe, however, the individual range was undoubtedly quite wide. On

47 Coues, 1897, pp. 524-525.
48 Matthews, 1877, p. 338.
49 Larocque, 1910, p. 59.
50 Coues, 1893, p. 564.
51 Gabel, 1939, p. 44.
52 Hooton, 1937, pp. 158-162.

this point we have Seltzer's careful observations on Zuñi men.[53] The following percentages were obtained for unexposed skin color:

Brunet	(von Luschan 7, 8, 9)	5.5%
Swarthy	(von Luschan 10, 11)	18.5
Red brown	(von Luschan 12, 14, 16)	48.5
Light brown	(von Luschan 15, 17, 18)	25.0
Yellow brown	(von Luschan 19, 20, 6)	0.9
Medium brown	(von Luschan 21, 25)	1.7

Thus about one out of four Zuñi men would be hardly any darker than most European Whites. Within the Mandan villages a similar or higher proportion of light skins could reasonably be expected. The explanation for the lighter shades of skin color lies in the presence of gene variants which must have arisen through mutation. Such mutations for light skin color would be restricted only by the selective effect of the environment. This effect would be more drastic in more southerly climates, especially among nomads receiving maximum exposure to the actinic rays of the sun. Such selections against light skin color should have been at a minimum among the Mandan, who had been earth lodge dwellers north of 45°N for a minimum of ten generations. That the effects of these selective processes could be apparent within a rather short time-span is suggested by Hrdlička's observations on the Apache. He said:

> The skin in most Mescalero . . . who live in a comparatively cold region is lighter in color than in most Apache, even where there is no suspicion of blood admixture. Some of those of the younger generation who wear clothing and wash themselves regularly retain hardly more of the yellowish brown than can be found in some whites along the Mediterranean.[54]

Since it is unlikely that when the Apache first came into the Southwest, the lighter-skinned ones went to areas of cooler climate and the darker-skinned ones travelled to where it was hotter, the difference must be a product of environmental pressures.

In addition to selection, the protection afforded the skin by semi-sedentary life in earth lodges probably enhanced the light color of the Mandan. This diminished tanning and weathering may have tended to heighten the contrast in skin color between the Mandan and the more southerly nomadic tribes. Because of faded tanning, light skin color would be particularly noticeable during the winter, the season of the most prolonged White visits to the Mandan villages.

53 Gabel, 1939, pp. 44-45.

54 Hrdlička, 1908, p. 153 fn.

Just as it appears unrealistic to expect all Indian claimants of full-blooded status to have dark coppery-brown skins, so it is overly restrictive to require them to have coarse black hair and black eyes. In fact, as Seltzer has indicated, "the hair color of the North American Indian is predominantly dark brown, as contrasted with the blue-black shade of pure Mongoloids. . . ." [55] According to Hooton, "the common impression that American Indians have, invariably, coarse hair is almost certainly incorrect." [56] Among Hopi, Navaho, Papago, Yaqui, and Zuñi male series, fine hair texture was found in 68-75 percent.[57] Eye color of North American Indians ranges from medium to very dark brown, but strictly speaking is never black.[58] In the light of all this, there does not seem to be anything non-Indian about the appearance of those Mandan who were not the results of recent White admixture.

On the other hand, an explanation in terms of mixture with a handful of Europeans centuries earlier is more difficult. Any estimate of prehistoric Mandan population is sheer guess-work, but it is reasonable to assume that the European Whites were far outnumbered. From a genetic standpoint, this numerical inferiority would be hard to overcome, even if the Europeans combined unusual longevity with great procreative abilities. To sustain the more lightly pigmented qualities of the resulting mixed offspring for many generations would probably require a high ratio of inbreeding. Such selective mating of a mixed minority within a larger Indian group is wholly without precedent in Indian history. Failing selective mating of this sort, the retention of recognizably European physical characters within the Mandan population would be somewhat more likely if that population were an almost exclusively inbreeding group. Nothing is known about the breeding habits of the prehistoric Mandan, but within the historic period there are indications of significant genetic interchanges with neighboring tribes. This sort of outbreeding would tend to further disperse any conceivably remaining concentration of European genes. All these probabilities weigh heavily against the chances of a few Europeans making a genetic impression still visible after more than 400 years upon an Indian group with a maximum estimated population of 8,000-15,000 in 1738, and possibly an even greater number in earlier times.[59]

Now if European genes are used to explain the lighter pigmentation of the Mandan, the light skin color reported for the Hidatsa, Crow, Piegan, Cree, and

55 Dr Carl Seltzer, as quoted by Hooton, 1937.

56 Hooton, 1937, p. 159.

57 Gabel, 1939, p. 47.

58 Hooton, 1937, p. 159.

59 Will and Hecker, 1944, p. 56, believe that "it was during this middle period that the Mandan reached their greatest numbers and strength as a nation. . . ."

Inspaelis (see p. 265) should logically be interpreted the same way. The Menominee of Green Bay should also be explained this way, since Keating, who saw them in about 1823, said, "They are of a lighter colour than their neighbors and are therefore called the White Indians." [60] But this logical extension of the European gene theory would carry with it such a tremendous dispersion of the original "White" genes that their phenotypic expression over a large area of the West would certainly be almost nil.

Archaeology can do very little to confirm or negate the speculations as to how pre-Columbian Europeans could have made contact with the Mandan. There is no incontestable evidence as to the location of the Mandan prior to the Middle period sites. Of these the Huff site has yielded tree-ring dates, which range from 1485-1543.[61] The identification of the so-called Archaic period sites as actually Mandan is by no means clear, due to the small amount of excavation in the area and the consequent reliance on surface collections. This leaves us in ignorance of when the Mandan arrived on the Missouri River, as well as to how they got there.

On cultural grounds, the well developed horticultural existence of the Mandan need not be explained in terms of European technology. Historic Mandan culture is now sufficiently understood that it presents no problems which cannot be solved in their aboriginal setting. The well developed agriculture and domestic arts of the Mandan were by no means unusual for North America and can perhaps be attributed to their probable Eastern Woodlands origin. The earth lodge and fortified village were widespread in North America and bear only the most general resemblance to northern European forms of the Middle Ages. The self-torture of the wide-spread Sun Dance type practiced by the Mandan is totally different in form and concept from the flagellant practices of Europe in the Middle Ages. The Mandan legend about the White culture hero who came out of the West in a canoe can be essentially duplicated in many Indian tribes throughout the Americas. The same is true of the Mandan traditions allegedly resembling Biblical accounts, such as Noah's Ark and the Deluge, and Samson, as even Catlin admitted.[62]

SUMMARY

At the present time, the racially mixed status of the few living Mandan and the paucity of identifiably Mandan skeletal material preclude a first-hand investigation of the blondism and other European characters attributed to them. And the 18th and 19th century eye-witness reports on this subject lack detail and sometimes

60 Keating, 1824, pp. 174-175.
61 Will, 1946, p. 13.
62 Catlin, 1841, p. 35.

accuracy. Some of them may have been colored by the exaggerated stories of White civilized Indians that were then current, or biased by romantic appeal of Welsh Indian and other theories. In addition, the results of the White admixture which probably began before 1850 have been interpreted in several reports as aboriginal peculiarities. Finally, the unusual amount of premature greying of the hair was confused with blondism on more than one occasion.

An analysis of these 18th and 19th century reports indicates that some of the presumptively unmixed Mandan were at least as light-skinned as darker Europeans; dark brown rather than black hair and eyes, and fine rather than coarse hair texture, were frequent. Light skin color was reported among other northern tribes as well. Careful modern studies indicate that dark brown hair and eyes, and fine hair texture are indeed most characteristic of North American Indians. Indeed, Mandan life in earth lodges north of 45°N would not only tend to reduce selection against light skin color, but would also result in less weathering of the skin than among nomadic tribes. This difference would be especially noticeable in the winter, which was the season of extended observation by Whites in the Mandan villages.

The alternative explanation involving the pre-Columbian introduction and subsequent persistence of European genes for blondism is hardly tenable. It must assume, first of all, extraordinary procreative abilities for a handful of Europeans, and over 400 years of inbreeding on the part of the mixed European-Mandan group. Difficult as it may be to explain the light pigmentation of some of the Mandan by old admixture with Europeans, it seems impossible to use the same explanation for the other allegedly light-skinned Indian tribes of North America. In addition, the whereabouts of the Mandan prior to the late 15th century are not definitely known, so that the chances of contact between them and any wandering Europeans cannot be adequately appraised. Also, enough is known about Plains Indians so that the high cultural development of the Mandan need not be explained as a grafting from European technology of the Middle Ages.

In conclusion, this review indicates that the blondism and other non-Indian characteristics reported for the Mandan of the 18th and early 19th centuries are much more plausibly explained by intertribal and individual variability in pigmentation and facial features, augmented by recent White admixture, than by pre-Columbian miscegenation with European exploring parties.

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Lance, a head soldier of the Mandan, born 1833-36. Photograph taken in 1874. Appearance gives impression of slight White admixture. (From Bureau of American Ethnology archives.)

Running Face, son of Chief Red Corn, a Mandan born in 1851. Photograph taken in 1874. Has appearance of being unmixed. (From Bureau of American Ethnology archives.)

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CHEREMIS DREAM PORTENTS [1]

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I. INTRODUCTORY ANALYSIS

THE CHEREMIS, who constitute fifty-one percent of the population of the Mari Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and form a minority population in surrounding areas, extending into the more remote Bashkir Republic, have numerous and diverse ways of foretelling the future, and their dreams serve as portents par excellence.

The typical Cheremis dream portent is highly stereotyped in form, so that a formal analysis becomes possible. For initial illustrative purposes, we will use the following sample text and translation as reference:

omo	dene	muret	ken,	tuj	liat,	manət
dream	with	singest-thou	if,	sick	becomest-thou,	say-they

"If you sing in your dream, you'll become sick, they say" [Uj 131].[2]

This text may be analyzed into three parts: I, from the beginning to the first comma; II, between the two commas; and III, from the second comma to the end. (In the transcription, "comma" stands for a type of juncture.)

I. This part consists of three components, which we will call (k) or constant, (±o) or optional, and (x_n) or symbol.

(k) This component must include the Cheremis morpheme corresponding to English 'sleep, dream': omə [B, Up, Usj], omo [Uj], in a suffixed form (omənəšto [B]) or followed by a postposition (omo dene [Uj], omə denə [Up, Usj]). The function of (k) is to provide the differentia specifica whereby dream portents are distinguished from analogous structures—say, weather predictions

1 My research in Cheremis was initiated with the support of the American-Scandinavian Foundation and continued with that of the Viking Fund: to both I offer my grateful acknowledgement.

2 The source for published dream portents (about one third) is Ödön Beke, *Tscheremissische Texte zur Religion und Volkskunde* (Oslo, 1931), here abbreviated [B]. The rest are unpublished texts which were also collected by Beke, under the circumstances described by him in *Finnisch-Ugrische Sprachstudien in ungarischen Kriegsgefangenenlagern* (Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, vol. 49, pt. 5, pp. 1-16, Helsinki, 1938), and are among those he placed at my disposal for analysis, translation, and editing; for full discussion, cf. the Preface and Introduction of my forthcoming *Studies in Cheremis Folklore*, vol. 1. For our purposes here, we will merely distinguish the four dialects involved as [B] for the published texts, and [Uj], [Up], and [Usj] for three groups of unpublished texts. For details, cf. *ibid.* All Cheremis forms cited are retranscribed phonemically, and only a single allomorph is given in each instance.

(e.g., "If the stars are thick in the sky, there'll be snow, they say"). With a very few exceptions, (k) is sentence initial, but this is not necessary.

($\pm$o) This component is a Cheremis morpheme corresponding to English 'if': tək [B], kən [Uj, Usj], kiń [Up]. In a very few instances no such form occurs, but whenever it does, it is the concluding word of part I.

(x_n) This component includes all the remaining words in I; it always occurs before (+o), and usually, but not necessarily, after (k). The symbol states the actual content of the dream, and must minimally include one nuclear verb, which is in the non-past tense, singular number, and, in all Uj, Up, Usj and some B portents, in the second person; otherwise, it is in the same tense, same number, but third person, and, in this latter pattern, always accompanied by jeŋ 'one, man', which never is found in the former. In order of frequency, the English equivalents of the nuclear verbs which occur are: see (18 times); wade through (3); fall into, fell, find, lose, put on, sing (2 each); build, cry, drink, fall out, feed, (can't) get out, hear, laugh, mow, sow (1 each). A symbol may include, in addition to the necessary nuclear verb, one or more objects which may or may not be modified by attributes of various sorts; it is also possible, occasionally, to have a second verb (or verbal noun) with parallel treatment, in which case the dreamer is shown to be a spectator of some action (x_{14}, x_{17}, x_{21}, x_{30}), rather than a direct participant in it.

II. This part will be called (i_n) or interpretation. By cultural convention or expectation, the interpretation is a function of the immediately preceding symbol; in logical terms, $f\ (k + x_n \pm o) = i_n$. i_n must also minimally include one verb, which is likewise in the non-past tense, singular number, the choice between persons being optional however. The verb, or predication, which is frequently either sentence final or immediately before the optional part, may then, though need not, be modified freely in many different ways.

III. This part will be called ($\pm$q) or quotative. Its usual position is sentence final, but it may also be inserted parenthetically within the interpretation.

Applying the foregoing analysis to the sample text, we find the following five terms: (k) omo dene 'dream with'; (+o) kən 'if'; (x_{11}) muret 'singest-thou'; (i_3) tuj liat 'sick becomest-thou'; (+q) manət 'they-say' (the specific subscripts are from the list given below). The relations between these terms are expressed by the complete formula $[f\ (k + x_{11} + o) = i_3] + q$. (The constant and the optional components, and the quotative, need not be marked in future formulas.)

Most Cheremis dream portents may be sufficiently characterized by this analysis. However, occasionally an informant may juxtapose several portents, as,

"If you see uncut bread in your dream, you'll live long, they say; if you see half a loaf of bread, 'I don't have much time to live,' they say" [Uj 128]. Such clusters may be analyzed precisely as the simple ones, but two things must be noted further: the symbols "you see uncut bread" (x_{18}) and "you see half a loaf of bread" (x_{24}) bear a special relationship to one another—here, that of a whole to a part of it; and, consequently, the interpretations "you'll live long" (i_4) and "I don't have much time to live" (i_5) do likewise—here they are opposites.

The foregoing analysis leads to the conclusion that the Cheremis dream portents must be classified according to their symbols, upon which the interpretation depends (all other elements being either constant or optional). The symbols must therefore be listed exhaustively. Furthermore, it must be indicated what the conventional interpretation of each symbol is. Now, since two or more symbols may be identically interpreted, it follows that the total number of interpretations is smaller than (in the corpus actually between a third and a half of) the total number of symbols; hence the symbols may be grouped into a number of sets (s_n) which equals the total number of interpretations.

The theoretical possibility of a given symbol having two or more interpretations must also be explored. Such cases are encountered in the corpus: e.g., the symbol 'you see the laying of a stack' is interpreted once as 'you'll see life' [Uj 127], and once as 'you'll grow a tumor' [Up 125]; and the symbol 'you sing' is interpreted once as 'you'll become sick' [Uj 131], and once as 'you'll cry' [Up 92]. There are three explanations possible: (1) a given symbol may have two or more culturally approved interpretations, the choice between them being, either entirely free, or, more likely, conditioned by certain immediate environmental stimuli not apparent from the corpus; (2) the variations are regional; (3) individual informants differ in assigning interpretations, chosen with a view to certain implicit cultural limitations. In the above pairs of examples respectively, as the source references indicate, the portents involved come from two different speech communities, so that the second of the explanations suggests itself. In view of this, and subject to correction, we assign to the symbol 'you see the laying of a stack', and to the symbol 'you sing', each, two separate numbers in the list below (x_{14}, x_{17}, and x_4, x_{11}).

We shall now give a complete list of symbols which occur in the corpus; next, we shall give the list of corresponding interpretations; then we shall indicate the existing relationships between sets of symbols and their interpretations; then we shall present the corpus itself.

II. LIST OF SYMBOLS

x_1 stands for 'you drink brandy' [B 187]
x_2 stands for 'you sow flax seeds' [B 174]
x_3 stands for 'one laughs' [B 179]
x_4 stands for 'you sing' [Up 92]
x_5 stands for 'one wades through melted snow' [B 171]
x_6 stands for 'you see straw' [Uj 141]
x_7 stands for 'you cry' [B 179, Uj 137, Up 97]
x_8 stands for 'you wade through water' [B 172]
x_9 stands for 'you see clean (river) water' [Uj 139, Up 89]
x_{10} stands for 'you wade across snow' [Uj 130, Up 91]
x_{11} stands for 'you sing' [Uj 131]
x_{12} stands for 'you fall into a pit' [Uj 133, Up 88]
x_{13} stands for 'you see a fire' [Uj 138]
x_{14} stands for 'you see the laying of a stack' [Up 125]
x_{15} stands for 'you put on a clean (or white) shirt (and drawers)' [Uj 135, Up 94]
x_{16} stands for 'you put on quite new beautiful clothes' [B 184]
x_{17} stands for 'you see the laying of a stack' [Uj 127]
x_{18} stands for 'you see uncut bread' [Uj 128]
x_{19} stands for 'you fell a pine' [B 177, Uj 142, Up 125]
x_{20} stands for 'you fell a birch' [B 178, Uj 142, Up 125, Usj 25]
x_{21} stands for 'you see someone ploughing' [B 175, Up 125]
x_{22} stands for 'one falls into water so that one cannot reach the bank' [B 173]
x_{23} stands for 'one loses one's boots and clothes' [B 185]
x_{24} stands for 'you see half a loaf of bread' [Uj 128]
x_{25} stands for 'you can't get out of a pit' [Uj 132, Up 87]
x_{26} stands for 'you see a molar fall out' [B 188]
x_{27} stands for 'you build a two-story house' [Uj 185]
x_{28} stands for 'your teeth fall out' [Up 96]
x_{29} stands for 'you lose your (inner) glove' [Uj 136, Up 95]
x_{30} stands for 'you see that they are carrying manure from the stall' [Uj 140]
x_{31} stands for 'you find a small ax' [B 186]
x_{32} stands for 'you find a cap' [B 186]
x_{33} stands for 'you see a dead man' [B 183, Uj 129, Up 90]
x_{34} stands for 'one sees smoke' [B 170]
x_{35} stands for 'one sees blazing fire' [B 170, Up 98]

x_{36} stands for 'you feed hay to a horse' [B 180]
x_{37} stands for 'you mow grass, rake hay' [B 176]
x_{38} stands for 'you hear the sound of a bell' [B 189, Uj 134, Up 93, Usj 24]
x_{39} stands for 'you see red cows' [B 181]
x_{40} stands for 'one sees the moon' [B 169]
x_{41} stands for 'you see a black dog' [Usj 26]
x_{42} stands for 'one sees a dog' [B 182]
x_{43} stands for 'you see linen' [Usj 23]

III. LIST OF INTERPRETATIONS

i_1 stands for 'sorrow' (x_1 through x_6)
i_2 stands for 'joy' (x_7 through x_9)
i_3 stands for 'sickness' (x_{10} through x_{14})
i_4 stands for 'cure of sickness, easy, long, or good life' (x_{15} through x_{18})
i_5 stands for 'death' (so that: x_{19} refers to the head of the family or to any male; x_{20} to a woman; x_{21} to a child or to someone in the house; x_{22}, x_{23}, x_{24}, x_{25}, to the dreamer; x_{26} to a member of the family; x_{27} to two men, one after the other, in the interval of a week; x_{28}, x_{29} to sheep; x_{30} to cattle)
i_6 stands for 'birth' (so that: x_{31} refers to a male child; x_{32} to a female child)
i_7 stands for 'rain; fog; moist weather' (x_{33} and x_{34})
i_8 stands for 'clear weather' (x_{35})
i_9 stands for 'money coming in' (x_{36})
i_{10} stands for 'money going out' (x_{37})
i_{11} stands for 'news will be heard; letter will arrive' (x_{38})
i_{12} stands for 'not good: village will burn down' (x_{39})
i_{13} stands for 'a soldier will come home' (x_{40})
i_{14} stands for 'the dreamer will see his friend' (x_{41})
i_{15} stands for 'not good: the dreamer will quarrel with someone' (x_{42})
i_{16} stands for 'the dreamer will undertake a journey' (x_{43})

The interpretations may be arranged, according to the frequency of their occurrence, in descending order: i_5 occurs twelve times; i_1, six times; i_3, five times; i_4, four times; i_2, three times; i_6 and i_7 each occur twice; i_8 through i_{16} each occur once.

Of a total of 43 instances, 26 interpretations (i_5, i_1, i_{10}, i_{12}, i_{15}) are definitely unfavorable, with 'death' accounting for nearly half of the latter, or 'death, sorrow' and 'disease' accounting together for 23. Of the total, only 8 interpreta-

tions (i_4, i_2, i_9) may be labelled positively favorable. The remaining 9 are neither particularly favorable or unfavorable.

Note further that the first ten interpretations may be divided into five pairs of opposites, forming these proportions: $i_1 : i_2 = i_3 : i_4 = i_5 : i_6 = i_7 : i_8 = i_{10} : i_9$. The remaining ones do not appear to lend themselves to such dichotomization.

IV. SETS OF SYMBOLS

Symbols which bear identical interpretations form a set. Sets which include more than one symbol are: $s_1 = x_1$ through x_6; $s_2 = x_7$ through x_9; $s_3 = x_{10}$ through x_{14}; $s_4 = x_{15}$ through x_{18}; $s_5 = x_{19}$ through x_{30}; $s_6 = x_{31}$ and x_{32}; $s_7 = x_{33}$ and x_{34}. The remaining sets include only one symbol, and thus bear the same number as the symbol itself. A set may be regarded as favorable when its function equals a favorable interpretation, and vice versa. Opposite sets are such sets the functions of which equal opposite pairs of interpretations.

V. FUNCTIONS

All functional relations between a given set and its interpretation may be expressed now in a single formula: $f(s_n) = i_n$.

VI. THE CORPUS[3]

$f(x_1) = i_1$ If you drink brandy in your dream, you will have great sorrow. [B 187]

$f(x_2) = i_1$ If you sow flax seeds in your dream, you will have great sorrow. [B 174]

$f(x_4) = i_1$ If you sing in your dream, you'll cry, they say. [Up 92]

$f(x_5) = i_1$ If one wades through melted snow in one's dream, one will shed many tears. [B 171]

$f(x_6) = i_1$ If you see straw in your dream, speech will reach you; it'll be hard for you somewhere, they say. [Uj 141]

$f(x_7) = i_2 +$

$f(x_3) = i_1$ If one cries in one's dream, one will have joy; if one laughs, one will have great sorrow. [B 179]

$f(x_7) = i_2$ If you cry in your dream, it'll be well with you, they say. [Uj 137]

$f(x_7) = i_2$ If you cry in your dream, you'll rejoice, they say. [Up 97]

$f(x_8) = i_2$ You dream: you wade through water, thus you'll emerge from sadness, will have no sorrow. [B 172]

3 Here only our translations from the Cheremis are given; for the original [B] texts, see *op. cit.*; we hope to publish the original [Uj, Up, Usj] texts elsewhere.

$f(x_9) = i_2$ If you see clear (river) water in your dream, it'll be well, people say. [Uj 139]

$f(x_9) = i_2$ If you see clear (river) water in your dream, you'll have joy. [Up 89]

$f(x_{10}) = i_3$ If you wade across snow in your dream, you'll catch cold and will become sick, they say. [Uj 130]

$f(x_{10}) = i_3$ If you wade in snow in your dream, you'll get sick, they say. [Up 91]

$f(x_{11}) = i_3$ If you sing in your dream, you'll become sick, they say. [Uj 131]

$f(x_{12}) = i_3$ If you fall into a pit in your dream, you'll become sick, they say. [Uj 133, Up 88]

$f(x_{13}) = i_3$ If you see a fire in your dream, your heart will ache, they say. [Uj 138]

$f(x_{15}) = i_4$ If you put on a clean (or white) shirt in your dream, your life will be good, they say. [Uj 135]

$f(x_{15}) = i_4 +$
i_4 If you put on a clean (or white) shirt and drawers, life will be easy, they say. [Up 94]

$f(x_{16}) = i_4$ If one puts on quite new beautiful clothes, one will live long. [B 184]

$f(x_{17}) = i_4$ If you see the laying of a stack in your dream, you'll see life, they say. [Uj 127]

$f(x_{19}) = i_5$ If you see yourself felling pines in your dream, if you fell the pine, the head of the family will die. [B 177]

$f(x_{20}) = i_5$ You have a dream, you fell a birch, a woman will die. [B 178]

$f(x_{20}) = i_5$ If you fell a birch in your dream, a woman will die in the family, they say. [Usj 25]

$f(x_{21}) = i_5$ If you see someone laughing in your dream, a child will die. [B 175]

$f(x_{19} + x_{20}) = i_5$ If you see a dream, the felling of a pine, that'll be a man's—a man will die, they say; if you see the felling of a birch in your dream, then that birch will be a woman's—a woman will die, they say. [Uj 142]

$f(x_{19} + x_{20} + x_{21}) = i_5 +$
$f(x_{14}) = i_3$ If you fell a pine tree in your dream, then that dream will show it to be a man, it'll be a man's; if you see the felling of a birch

tree, that'll be a woman's; if you see ploughing in your dream, someone will die in the house, they say; if you see the laying of a stack, you'll grow a tumor, they say. [Up 125]

$f(x_{22}) = i_5$ If one falls into water so that one cannot reach the bank, one will die. [B 173]

$f(x_{23}) = i_5 +$
i_5 If one loses one's boots and clothes, one will not have a long life, one will soon die. [B 185]

$f(x_{18}) = i_4 +$
$f(x_{24}) = i_5$ If you see uncut bread in your dream, you'll live long, they say; if you see half a loaf of bread, "I don't have much time to live," they say. [Uj 128]

$f(x_{25}) = i_5$ If you can't get out of a pit in your dream, you'll die, they say. [Uj 132, Up 87]

$f(x_{26}) = i_5$ If you see a molar fall out in your dream, someone will die in the family. [B 188]

$f(x_{27}) = i_5$ If you build a two-story house in your dream, two men will die, one after another, in the interval of a week, they say. [Uj 185]

$f(x_{28}) = i_5$ If your teeth fall out in your dream, sheep will die, they say. [Up 96]

$f(x_{29}) = i_5$ If you lose your (inner) glove in your dream, sheep will die, they say. [Uj 136, Up 95]

$f(x_{30}) = i_5$ If you see in your dream that they are carrying manure from the stall, some cattle will die, they say. [Uj 140]

$f(x_{31} +$
$x_{32}) = i_6$ You have a dream, you find a small ax in the dream, then your wife will give birth to a boy; if you find a cap, then she will give birth to a girl. [B 186]

$f(x_{33}) = i_7$ If you see a dead man in your dream, the weather will be wet. [B 183, Uj 129]

$f(x_{33}) = i_7$ If you see a dead man in your dream, there'll be rain, they say. [Up 90]

$f(x_{35}) = i_8 +$
$f(x_{34}) = i_7$ If one sees a blazing fire in one's dream, it will be clear; if one sees smoke, it will be foggy, rainy. [B 170]

$f(x_{35}) = i_8$ If you see blazing fire in your dream, the weather will be clear, they say. [Up 98]

f (x_{37}) = i_9 If you mow grass, rake hay in your dream, money will come in. [B 176]

f (x_{36}) = i_{10} If you feed hay to a horse in your dream, money will go away and take another position. [B 180]

f (x_{38}) = i_{11} +
i_{11} If you hear the sound of a bell in your dream, you'll receive news; a letter will come. [B 189]

f (x_{33}) = i_{11} If you hear the sound of a bell in your dream, you'll hear news. [Uj 134, Up 93, Usj 24]

f (x_{39}) = i_{12} If you see red cows in your dream, this is not good; the village will burn down. [B 181]

f (x_{40}) = i_{13} If one sees the moon in one's dream, a soldier will come home. [B 169]

f (x_{41}) = i_{14} If you see a black dog in your dream, you'll see your friend. [Usj 26]

f (x_{42}) = i_{15} If one sees a dog in one's dream, this is not good; one will quarrel with someone. [B 182]

f (x_{43}) = i_{16} If you see linen in your dream, you'll have a journey. [Usj 23]

VII. SYMBOLIC CONTENT

Among the several invisible inhabitants of the human body, the Cheremis count the ört, which often departs from its frame during an individual's lifetime. An unconscious Cheremis is one whose ört is away. He protests to someone who startled him out of his sleep, "You are driving away my ört!" Certain illnesses are also caused by the departure of the ört, and, should it fail to return to the body, death is the consequence; it is said of a moribund Cheremis: "His ört is gone, only his spirit (čon) is not gone." While a Cheremis sleeps, his ört may leave his body and wander about, and what it sees appears to the sleeper as a dream: hence it is said of a dreamer, örtšə koštеš 'his ört wanders'; if he had dreamed of a certain town, the Cheremis is convinced that his ört had passed there during the night—for, had his ört not been there, how could he possibly have seen the town just as it really is? And so, when a Cheremis says, "I went to town with my ört," he means, "I dreamt of the town."

The omə užšə 'dream seer' is the most important of all the various Cheremis soothsayers. In an unconscious state, he can commune with the world of spirits, sending his ört in search of important information. The Cheremis turn to him in matters connected with the spirit world, matters which cannot be explained by natural causes—for example, a serious illness; in such a case, the 'dream seer' goes

to sleep with an object which has somehow been in contact with the person who is ill placed beneath his head. He is also consulted when cattle disappear, when the harvest turns out poorly, or when similar misfortune strikes. Only the 'dream seer' can say, under such circumstances, wherein lies the source of the trouble, and which particular spirit must be expiated by the sacrificial slaughter of what kind of animals.[4]

This relationship between the body and its ört seems to indicate a relatively low threshold between the conscious and the unconscious, and to invite attempts at translating from latent to manifest content in terms of the Freudian theory of symbolism.[5] It is all too tempting to labor the "obvious": for instance, that 'small ax' (x_{31}) is a phallic symbol ('birth of a boy', i_6), and 'cap' (x_{32}) is a symbol for female genitalia ('birth of a girl', i_6); or that 'felling a pine' (x_{10}) symbolizes killing the father (cf. [B 177, Uj 142, Up 125]), while 'felling a birch' (x_{20}) symbolizes killing the mother (cf. [B 178, Uj 142, Up 125, Usj 25]).[6] In this last example, four separate interpretations seem to establish 'birch' firmly as a female symbol—and yet, in the traditional Cheremis folksongs we find 'birch' the conventional symbol for 'son', and 'to cut down a birch' means there 'to send away the son'.[7]

Lacking, unfortunately, records of informants' associations stimulated by these dream portents, "explanations" of symbolic content must remain in the realm of speculation at present. We know that the symbols are more or less stereotyped—witness their frequent recording, sometimes verbatim, from different speech-communities—but we can only guess at their cultural valuation.

VIII. CHUVASH PARALLELS

Because of the extensive distribution of dream portents (with or without the

4 Cf. Uno Holmberg, *Die Religion der Tscheremissen* (Folklore Fellows Communications, vol. 61, 1926), p. 13; H. Paasonen (ed. Paavo Siro) *Ost-tscheremissisches Wörterbuch* [s.u. *ört*] (Helsinki, 1948); and further, Jean Smirnov, *Les populations finnoises des bassins de la Volga et de la Kama* (Paris, 1898), p. 129.

5 Cf. Jackson Steward Lincoln, *The Dream in Primitive Cultures* (Baltimore, 1935), especially p. 99 ff. Relevant here are the remarks by Dorothy Eggan, *The Significance of Dreams for Anthropological Research* (American Anthropologist, vol. 51, pp. 177-198, 1949), pp. 177-178.

6 For the relationship of one Cheremis to his parents, see Thomas A. Sebeok, *A Cheremis Autobiography, With Remarks On Other Finno-Ugric Personal Documents* (Hoosier Folklore, vol. 8, pp. 17-20, 1950).

7 Thomas A. Sebeok and Evelyn Lane, *The Cheremis Folksong: a Soviet Viewpoint* (The Slavonic and East European Review, vol. 28, London, 1949), p. 144 and fn. 13. See also, V. M. Berdnikov and E. A. Tudorovskaia, *Poetika Mariiskikh Narodnykh Pesen* (Joshkar-Ola, 1945).

allied concept of the dream-soul[8]) the diffusion of specific portents is very difficult to trace. At best, parallels with corresponding items in neighboring cultures can be pointed out at this stage.

Cheremis culture traits are most usefully compared with Chuvash, Tatar, or Russian. All three have influenced the Cheremis language: some five hundred Chuvash and over six hundred Tatar loanwords have been identified.[9] More particularly in the field of folklore, certain end formulas in the Cheremis folktale have been assigned Chuvash origin,[10] and both Tatar and Russian folksongs have been shown to have had intensive effects upon those of the Cheremis.[11]

The deepest of these layers of acculturation is the Chuvash. The Cheremis have been exposed to the influence of the Volga Bulgars (whose modern descendants the Chuvash are) continually since about 700 AD. For this reason, any parallel dream portents we can locate in Chuvash folklore are apt to be significant and illuminating rather than otherwise.

Among the major sources of Chuvash folklore only the collection of materials by Gyula Mészáros contains dream portents.[12] Since this is a rare book, and, moreover, provides translations only into Hungarian, we offer here an English translation of the twenty-one dream portents the collector gave, as he put it, by way of a sample:

A. If a Tatar appears in a dream, there will be an appearance of god.
B. If someone sees a Mordvin in a dream, there will be a scare above water.
C. If someone sees raw meat in a dream, (it means) death.
D. Green grass in a dream (means) death.
E. If someone puts on two layers of shirts in a dream, and if one of the layers is ragged, (it means) somebody's death.
F. If someone builds a new house in a dream, somebody will die.

8 Cf., for example, Maria Leach (ed.), *Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* [s.u. *dreams, dream soul*] (New York, 1949).

9 Martti Räsänen, *Die tschuwassischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen* (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, vol. 48, Helsinki, 1920); *id., Die tatarischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen* (*idem.*, vol. 50, 1923).

10 Beke (Ethnographia, vol. 44, pp. 75-76, Budapest, 1933).

11 Sebeok and Lane, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-151; G. Karmazin, *Über die tscheremissischen Lieder* (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, vol. 59, pp. 380-384, Helsinki, 1931); Berdnikov and Tudorovskaia, *op. cit.*

12 *A Csuvas Ösvallás Emlékei* [Remnants of the Ancient Chuvash Religion] (vol. 1, pp. 398-400, Budapest, 1909); texts with Hungarian translation are given. The recently published collection by Heikki Paasonen (ed. Eino Karahka and Martti Räsänen), *Gebräuche und Volksdichtung der Tschuwassen* (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, vol. 94, Helsinki, 1949), contains no dream portents. The Chuvash also have the concept of the 'dream-soul', and their 'dream-seer' (t'ə̆l'ə̆k ĭajlaɢan) functions very similarly to his Cheremis colleague.

G. If someone is attacked by a dog in a dream, a man will attack him.
H. If a tooth falls out in a dream, something will get lost.
I. If someone beats himself with a soaked bath-switch in the bath in a dream, it means somebody's slander.
J. If someone sees a dream still in the evening, that will not be soon fulfilled; if he sees it at the break of dawn, it will be fulfilled within some days.
K. If someone drinks brandy in a dream, sorrow.
L. If someone sees a priest in a dream, there will be an appearance of the Angel of Death.
M. If someone sees a wedding in a dream, there'll be a death.
N. If someone goes into a church in a dream, that is not good.
O. If someone grinds in a dream, sorrow.
P. If someone plays with a girl in a dream, illness will arise.
Q. If a house burns in a dream, (it means) clear weather.
R. Silver-money in a dream (means) clear weather.
S. If someone is ploughing a field in a dream, someone will die.
T. If someone sees water in a dream, life.
U. If a horse gets loose in a dream, and if someone cannot catch it, if there is a sick man (in the house) he'll die, or if there is a conscripted child (in the house), he'll become a soldier.

A comparison of the Chuvash with the Cheremis portents yields—for such a small corpus—remarkably revealing similarities.

Five Chuvash portents resemble corresponding Cheremis portents both as to symbol and interpretation:

F.—f (x_{27}) = i_8. (In Chuvash, the symbol is 'new house', in Cheremis 'two-story house', but building either is interpreted as 'death'.)

G.—f (x_{42}) = i_{15}. (In Chuvash, the 'dog' specifically 'attacks', in Cheremis he is merely 'seen', but both are interpreted alike.)

K.—f (x_1) = i_1.

Q.—f (x_{35}) = i_8. (The Chuvash specifies that it is a 'house' which is burning, the Cheremis merely mentions a 'blazing fire', but both are taken to portend 'clear weather'.)

S.—f (x_{21}) = i_5.

Two more Chuvash portents include symbols that also occur in Cheremis, but with different interpretations:

H.—x_{26} or x_{28}.
T.—x_9.

Eleven more Chuvash portents include interpretations that also occur in Cheremis, but with reference to symbols which do not occur in the latter corpus:

O.—i_{12}.
P.—i_{13}.
T.—i_{14}.
A, C, D, E, L, M, U.—i_{15}.
R.—i_{18}.

In all probability, only such comparisons are diagnostic when both symbols and interpretations can be matched.[18]

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13 This can in some measure be tested by comparing the Cheremis portents with a similar-sized corpus from a remote culture, for example, Aymara. Weston LaBarre gives thirty-five symbols and corresponding interpretations in *The Aymara Indians of the Lake Titicaca Plateau, Bolivia* (Memoir, American Anthropological Association, no. 68, 1948), pp. 179-180. Only one Aymara portent resembles a corresponding Cheremis portent both as to symbol and interpretation: 'the dead' or 'a person who is dead' means 'much wind or severe cold' or 'it will rain'; cf. f (x_{22}) = i_7. Two more Aymara portents include symbols that also occur in Cheremis, but with quite different interpretations: 'fire' or 'burning fire' means 'gossip'; contrast with x_{12} or x_{25}; and 'clean water' means 'good health'; contrast with x_9. The following six interpretations appear in Aymara also, but in reference to symbols which are not found in Cheremis: i_1 (4 times), i_2 (3 times), i_3 (5 times), i_4 (once), i_5 (4 times), i_9 (5 times).

BIG KIVAS, LITTLE KIVAS, AND MOIETY HOUSES IN HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

FLORENCE HAWLEY

IN THE SOUTHWEST, as elsewhere, two major anthropological interests have been the tracing of relationships of modern and prehistoric cultures within the same area and the description of pre-Columbian life in terms of life today as deduced from shared traits of material culture. That modern Pueblo culture developed from the old Pueblo culture of the area is unquestioned, but derivation of specific modern Pueblo tribes from archaeological branches presents a number of problems.

Reed [1] has offered a basis for broad reconstruction in proposing consideration of prehistoric skull deformation, disposal of the dead, grooving of stone axes, and types of kivas, as well as of pottery. Because their variations are limited, the first three of these are more easily defined than pottery, hitherto customarily used as primary criterion of culture and sub-culture divisions. Kivas are less easily handled. Prehistoric kivas have been classified by form, size, the presence or absence or number of pilasters, etc. Plotted distributions of kiva types obviously must vary according to definition of type. But if for a moment we divert our attention to ethnology, we find that Indians who use kivas today recognize only two types by function, the big kiva or "round house," and the little kiva. Both circular and rectangular forms occur in both categories.

The specific relationship of big kivas, little kivas, and religious society houses to the structure of social organization [2] never has been emphasized. Lack of understanding of the degree and type of this relationship in the modern Pueblos has caused confusion.

Unfortunately, in ethnological as well as archaeological reports further confusion has been introduced by varied use of the term "kiva." Big kivas and little kivas, descended from the proto-types recognized by archaeologists, are used by kiva-katcina societies concerned with masked representations. But some miscalled "kivas" turn out to be simply houses used by moieties, the houses of moiety chiefs

1 Reed, *Sources of Upper Rio Grande Pueblo Culture; idem, Eastern-Central Arizona Archaeology.*

2 Hawley, *Examination of Problems.* The statement therein of the patrilineal moiety being borrowed by the Keresans but only as dance groups should be modified slightly in accordance with the conclusions of the present paper and the diagrams of the Keresan social system should have two katcina dance groups added. The Tewa system might have "clans" tentatively added within moieties.

functioning as moiety headquarters, clan houses, or even medicine society houses.

As mentioned, big and little kivas are tied to the katcina cult as such and the number of kivas in a pueblo corresponds to the number of divisions of that cult. Big kivas are found only as singles or in pairs. They differ from little kivas at present in that they are community buildings customarily used only for affairs open to the village as a whole, rather than for the restricted groups one finds using small kivas or rooms. In the past most, but not all, big kivas carried certain features, such as floor vaults, rarely found in small kivas.

Emphasis upon one big kiva, two big kivas, several small kivas, or a combination is characteristic of certain linguistic-cultural divisions of the Pueblo peoples.

Tiwa System

Tiwa social organization shows relative consistency if one side-steps terminology in the literature and checks on functions of institutions. In Taos the basis of social organization consists of the six small kiva groups with their subdivisions [3] which appear comparable to Isleta's six divisions (the Corn groups plus the Sichu group) within each of which are one or more matrilineal clan divisions. The Taos kivas are grouped into moieties. Picuris has six small kiva groups, but Parsons' brief notes on this pueblo give no details.[4]

Checking for Tiwa big kivas, we find that Sandia (no report) has a round house for dancing. Picuris has a round house used in connection with races and dances. Taos has one kiva little used today which appears, on the basis of comparison with functions of the Isleta round house, to have been a comparable institution (see below).

In the Parsons report on Isleta [5] and in a footnote to her Tewa study,[6] she speaks of a circular big kiva and a rectangular undetached moiety house for each moiety, but informants today insist that there never has been more than one big kiva or round house in this pueblo, although each moiety uses a different name in referring to the round house.[7] Relationship of this structure to fertility and to war has not been reported previously. In the floor,[8] beneath a board, are pieces of

3 Parsons, *Taos Pueblo*, p. 115.

4 Parsons, *Picuris*, pp. 206-222.

5 Parsons, *Isleta*, pp. 201-460.

6 Parsons, *Social Organization of the Tewa*, p. 100.

7 Parsons' presumable error probably arose because in 1922 the old round house, which was too small and so low that people bumped their heads on the ceiling, was torn down and a new slightly larger structure was erected somewhat to the south of the old one. The women of the corn group of each direction plastered the side represented by their group.

8 Personal information.

"the flesh of all animals." In the walls of the round house Navaho scalps are sealed into a niche which formerly was opened periodically so that the women of the Kumpa society could chew the scalps and spit the juice into clay which was made into balls to serve as "scalp medicine," powerful magic in the hands of the men of this society. The male Kumpas acted as guards for these scalps, guards for the town chief, guards for ceremonies, and guards for the medicine man. Like the Keresan Flint society, the Kumpas were responsible for "power" to be used by warriors who went against the Navaho.

The round house is considered sacred because "the lives of all Isletans" are "planted in this structure." It is used only for the ceremony of the Kumpas and in preparations for the Sun or Town Chief races in April, and for the painting of the clowns of Koshairi before the general rabbit hunt.[9] In Taos one kiva, now abandoned (presumably because of the decline in warfare) appears to have paralleled the Isleta round house in function. Its members were associated with the warriors,[10] participated in the scalp dance, and saw to it that others danced properly. Scalps were supposed to have been buried in this kiva. There was some connection between the kiva and the Red Eye clowns. Today, before racing, runners visit this kiva to pray and make offerings, even though it is not used otherwise. Taos, like the other Tiwa villages, does not represent katcinas by masked dances, but the small kiva groups make offerings to the katcinas.

In Isleta the two rectangular moiety houses in the house blocks are used for storing dance paraphernalia, secret objects, and sacred water. The annual retreats of the leaders and old men of each moiety and initiation of children into the moiety are held in this house. The clans which make up each corn group are under the leadership of that corn group, and members participating in ceremonies meet in the home of the corn group leader.

Tewa System

Parsons [11] reports "clans" for the Tewa, although vestigial and now functionless, leaderless, without houses or paraphernalia, and neither patrilineal nor matrilineal in membership. Whitman describes San Ildefonso "clans" as being divisions of the patrilineal moieties [12] (in which case they would have to be patrilineal likewise), but agrees with Parsons that at present both the clan and the moiety systems have so broken down that the people are confused about the functions

9 Author's field research.
10 Parsons, *Taos Pueblo*, p. 79.
11 Parsons, *Social Organization of the Tewa*.
12 Whitman, *Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso*, p. 13.

of the former or its relationship to the latter. The Tewa "clans" so vaguely described may well have paralleled the ceremonial kiva groups of Tiwa-speaking Taos—non-lineage groups joined by choice through a ceremonial father and linked into moieties. Or, if they actually were patrilineal divisions within the patrilineal moiety, the system might have closely paralleled that of Hano[13] (a village of southern Tewa or Tano who left the Rio Grande and settled next to the Hopi in Spanish times[14]), in which clans are matrilineal and grouped into a matrilineal ceremonial moiety or kiva group. The two Hano kiva groups are said to be the centers of most major activities, as the fraternities are for the Hopi.

Or—to return to Rio Grande Tewa—the "clans" could have paralleled the matrilineal ceremonial corn groups of Isleta, where corn group membership is cross-cut with non-lineage membership through the practice of "assigning" children to the moiety of one or the other parent or of the child's ceremonial father.[15] One sometimes wonders whether the matrilineal clans of Isleta indicate strong influence from their close Keresan neighbors.

The most that we can say today of Tewa "clans" is that they *probably* are badly misnamed and *probably* represent remnants of an old basic Tanoan ceremonial unit such as is seen today in the Taos kiva group, the Isleta corn group, and even the Hopi fraternity. These institutions are purely ceremonial and are involved in government only through their leaders being members of the larger religious hierarchy. If we forget Isleta's cross-cutting memberships and consider Hano in its original position as a northern Rio Grande village, we find a simple picture of the old northern Tanoan pattern: ceremonial units (patrilineal, matrilineal, or non-lineage) grouped into two moieties (patrilineal, matrilineal, or non-lineage). On the basis of Taos and Picuris usage of small kivas by these small ceremonial units, we may surmise that the comparable groups for Tewa and Tano once used small kivas.

The Tanoan moieties characteristically have moiety houses. San Ildefonso and Tesuque each have two. San Juan has one. Some of these are referred to as Summer and Winter "kivas" in Parsons' report.[16] In Nambe and Santa Clara the houses of the moiety chiefs are used as the moiety houses. Each moiety chief is in charge of the village for one half year. Initiation into a moiety is held in the big kiva, but the ceremonial paraphernalia of the group is kept in the moiety house.

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13 F. Eggan, Unpublished ms., and E. Dozier, Notes.
14 Reed, *Origins of Hano*.
15 Parsons, *Isleta*, p. 261.
16 Parsons, *Social Organization of the Tewa*, pp. 99-101.

San Ildefonso has one circular outside "big kiva," considered to be the oldest structure in the village. It belongs to both moieties and is used as a dance place. Data on Tewa religion and dancing is meager.[17] In Santa Clara, about forty-five years ago, both Summer and Winter people used one large surface kiva.[18] More recently, during a period of political dissension in the village, when a second kiva was built, the remains of an underground kiva of a preceding period were uncovered.

Nambe has one big kiva (in which "stone spirits" are buried in the "sand navel middle") used by both Summer and Winter people. None other is remembered. Katcina dances are held in it.[19] Tesuque holds at least one katcina dance in the plaza, according to a Nambe informant.[20] San Juan has one big rectangular kiva known as "Big Kiva," belonging to the Summer people and used for katcina dances and all ceremonial retreats.[21] The moiety house which they refer to as "Little Kiva" is merely a house owned by Winter people and used for other dances and dance practices.

Towa System

Jemez, the only Towa pueblo still existent, is at some distance from other Tanoan pueblos and in close contact with the Keresan villages of Zia and Santa Ana. Borrowing might be expected, especially as intermarriage is common. Jemez explains that even in the distant past, ancestral Zia villages and ancestral Jemez sites were close together. The presence and functions of clans and the method of selecting the cacique reflect the Zia system. There are no moiety houses, and society houses are rooms in the house block, as elsewhere.

Jemez ancestors [22] were a people with traditions of war and with no religious songs or ceremonials except those pertaining to war. Originally they had only four religious societies, although others were borrowed later. Clans had no ceremonies, but were related to societies (as at Zia) through the requirement that the chief of a society be selected from a certain clan. When dissension arose in the pueblo and groups temporarily pulled away, those groups were medicine societies, not clans.

The two big Jemez kivas are of patrilineal membership.[23] Each kiva group has a leader appointed for life, who make arrangements for katcina or Saint's Day or corn dances by that group. Katcina dances may be requested to follow the retreats

17 *Idem*, p. 162.
18 W. W. Hill, Notes.
19 Parsons, *Social Organization of the Tewa*, p. 163.
20 *Ibid.*
21 *Idem*, p. 153.
22 F. Hawley, Notes.
23 Parsons, *Pueblo of Jemez.*

of ceremonial groups. Jemez—and the Keres—refer to their kivas as "Squash" and "Turquoise." The altar of the Jemez society concerned with the war cult is set up in one of the kivas.

Summary of Tanoan Pattern

The published reports on the modern pueblos vary in the amount of details provided. Summarizing our incomplete data, we see the Tanoan pattern of moiety dominance as entailing two moiety houses (sometimes moiety-chief houses) of no importance in themselves, but used for initiations and moiety "cleansing" ceremonies. There is one round house or big kiva, considered to be relatively sacred, used for religious affairs open to the entire town. Sometimes, however, only one moiety house exists, while the other ceremonial structure actually is a big kiva used by members of both moieties for katcina dances and ceremonies involving clowns or other costumed figures. We might say that the big kivas are used in dance or drama pertaining to the supernaturals, which easily explains how Saints' Day dances entered the kiva complex. There is a typical Tanoan tie-up of the big kiva to war and scalps through ceremonies pertaining to religious and magical "power." All Tanoan pueblos have medicine and other societies which use simple rooms for meeting places.

What, then, of Keresan big kivas?

Keresan System

In the Keresan pueblos, clans and medicine societies are the most important organizations in point of ritual, political power, and extended functions. Among the eastern Keresans the medicine societies have their own houses, rectangular structures in the house block. Clans are without houses or leaders, but to judge by remnants of clan ceremonies and political power in the western villages, Keresan clans originally were more important than they are today. The Keresan big kiva system is a dual katcina organization which is very secret, more elaborate than the Tewa katcina complex, and probably very old. The big kiva is used for affairs involving any of the supernatural beings or mythical personages represented in pueblo ceremonials: the katcinas, the two groups of man-like spirits associated with fertility and growth known as the Koshairi (sacred clowns) and Quiraina, and—in Domingo—the spirits from Gowawaima (masked spirits who may have been borrowed from Mexico). As the only dance organizations in the villages, these so-called ceremonial moieties perform Saints' Day dances as well as the more important masked rain ceremonies. There are no moiety houses. Political duties

do not touch the Keresan katcina-kiva complex. Kiva membership is patrilineal but a wife usually transfers to the kiva of her husband.

The published reports on Cochiti are scanty, but we find in Goldfrank the specific statement:

> Winter kachina dances are called for by the war captain at his pleasure. These are held at night in the Squash estufa; and there is a maskless dance *aihenatsa* given in the Turquoise estufa.[24]

In her calendar she mentions several katcina dances given in the big kivas and the green corn tablita dance given by the two kivas. Kick-stick races for rain are run by the kiva groups. Here we have an outline of the typical Keresan system, in which the Quiraina fertility group and Cikame curing society are tied up to the Squash kiva, while the Koshairi fertility group, the Flint Society, the cacique, and the care of the scalps are tied to the Turquoise. The Flint society was supposed to carry the medicine for power in warfare and hence was in close relationship to the Opi, the society of warriors who had killed a Navaho.

The heads of the two big kivas of Santo Domingo serve for life. They organize the masked katcina dances, act as custodians of the masks, and supervise preparations for dances. The kiva heads also select dancers for special parts, such as the Buffalo dance.

The Koshairi society "belongs" to the Turquoise kiva and the Quiraina to the Squash. "Both are associated with the kachinas and may appear with the masked dancers." [25] Flint and Cikame together are in charge of the katcina cult. The Flint society is supposed to possess supernatural power for use against enemies; the Flint medicine men (the cacique is a Flint man and head of the society) today care for the scalps left by the defunct Opi (Warriors) society. Men are initiated into the Turquoise kiva by the Flint society, which also appoints the war chief. The Cikame society initiates men into the Squash kiva. Flint is affiliated with Koshairi and Cikame with Quiraina.

In San Felipe,[26] next pueblo to the south, we find three katcina groups, the Squash kiva, the Turquoise kiva, and the Ya.'cstca which keeps its masks in a house. The last group may represent a split in one of the others. Each kiva group has a house nearby in which its masks are kept and where practices go on. As in Domingo, masks are made and given "power" by the kiva officials, who are selected to serve for life by the war captains, and are considered to be very

24 Goldfrank, *Social and Cermonial Organization of Cochiti*, p. 72.
25 White, *Pueblo of Santo Domingo*, p. 48.
26 White, *Pueblo of San Felipe*, pp. 24-29.

important persons, "a person who can traffic in supernatural power, a shaman." [27] Quirena is tied to Cikame. Koshare or Quirena or both appear at masked dances. Koshairi is tied to the Flint society. Scalps, kept by the Opi before that group became extinct, now are kept in a little room off the cacique's office house.

In Santa Ana the two big kivas are

> Communal buildings . . . used for ceremonial purposes only; dance groups use them to dress in and to prepare for dances; some dances such as Aowe (a spring planting dance) are held in the kivas; dancers rest and rehearse songs between performances at kivas, etc.[28]

As White explains, kiva membership in Santa Ana is unique among Keresans because here the matrilineal clans are grouped so that three make up the Turquoise kiva people and the other six make up the Squash. The two big kivas are in charge of the two Cikame societies respectively.

> In short, the essence of the relationship between the medicine societies and the kachina organization is the same at Santa Ana and Zia as at Santo Domingo and San Felipe, but at the latter two pueblos the kachina organization *appears* to be a distinct and independent organization, whereas at Santa Ana and Zia the dependence of the kachina organization upon the medicine societies (which, we believe, actually exists at Domingo and San Felipe), is direct, immediate, and obvious.[29]

In White's summary, we read:

> Where the pueblo is large and culturally well preserved (Santo Domingo, San Felipe), the kachina organization will appear as a separate and distinct organization, identified with the kivas, and will be communal and male in character. But where the pueblos are small and have suffered some loss or curtailment of their ceremonial life (Santa Ana has lost her cacique, it will be remembered; Sia for years had but one kiva), the dependence of the kachina organization upon the medicine societies will be immediate and conspicuous.[30]

Zia, although small, is at least as conservative as Domingo. Details concerning its kiva organization and the katcina cult would be desirable, but in its conservatism it emphasizes secrecy concerning all except material culture characteristics. For many years Zia had only one big circular kiva and a rectangular ceremonial room. Later a second big kiva was built, but, according to informants, either kiva could be used by either moiety. For public dances put on by the moiety groups, as

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27 *Idem*, p. 15.
28 White, *Pueblo of Santa Ana*, p. 142.
29 *Idem*, p. 140.
30 *Idem*, p. 141.

on Saints' Days, one moiety customarily asked the other for aid. Concerning katcina performances or organization today we know almost nothing.

The medicine societies use "business houses," indistinguishable from dwelling houses.

Laguna ceremonial organization was too badly disrupted by the break in which the conservatives left for Isleta to offer much information beyond that which has been quoted from Parsons.

In Acoma each of the five groups making up the katcina society has a rectangular room in the house-block for its meeting place. The very impossibility of excavating kivas into the solid rock of the village site may have been immediately responsible for what seems an innovation in kiva style perpetuated by the western Keresans and Zuñi to the present time. But the probable precedent to these house-block kivas existed in the small Chaco kivas of Pueblo Bonito, Chetro Ketl, etc., were circular kivas were architecturally integrated into the house block and made to appear subterranean by inclosing the circular structure within a rectangular room of the same diameter. The corners between circle and square were filled with rubbish and soil.

Acoma katcina initiations always are held in the "head estufa" belonging to the Antelope clan and the cacique,[31] a room of the same type as the other kivas but containing a resonance chamber covered with a plank in the floor, such as that on which Hopi snake dancers stamp in their plaza to notify spirits below that the dance is being performed. This kiva is used for large dances and seems to be the counterpart of the eastern Keresan big kivas. Acoma has a Koshairi society as such, but the Quirena finds its equivalent in the total membership of the katcina groups.

The parallel of five katcina groups in Santa Ana and in Acoma attracts one's attention; but in Acoma there is no direct association of any medicine group with any katcina group, although medicine men assist at dances, are the only persons who may wear certain masks, and function in initiation ceremonies. The Fire medicine society has an "estufa" said to be identical to those of the katcina groups. The Flint society uses the head kiva and the Kabina keep their paraphernalia in a room adjoining that kiva.[32] The Opi are extinct and custodianship of scalps is unstated. The Corn clan has a house of its own; the others appear to be without houses, probably because they are without ceremonies.

The apparent connection, in the Tiwa pueblos, between the big kiva, the Warriors society, and a society devoted to war "medicine" and care of the scalps

31 White, *Acoma Indians*, p. 72.
32 *Idem*, p. 107.

is somewhat reflected in the association of the Flint medicine society, the Warriors society, and one of the two big kivas among the Keres.

Zuñi System

In Zuñi there are six kiva groups which make up the divisions of the katcina organization, each division with its own officers, and the whole with four over-all officers. Membership is through ceremonial father and hence neither matrilineal nor patrilineal.

A related Zuñi group is that of the katcina priests, made up of individuals who have impersonated the katcinas of the upper pantheon.[33] There is no tie-up with medicine societies. Summer dances are given in the plazas. Winter dances are performed in kivas at night but may be repeated out of doors on the following day. This instance of dancing at night within the kivas coincides with the practice reported for Tewa kivas—a practice which may very well obtain in Keresan kivas also.

Kivas are rectangular and built into the house-block. Hodge [34] points out that one Hawikuh (ancestral Zuñi) rectangular kiva is below ground and that the change to non-distinctive above-ground room-kivas may have been the result of Spanish orders against "pagan" ceremonials. Room kivas would have been less noticeable than underground kivas. Against this theory is the fact that the Rio Grande round houses survived openly, in full observation of the Spaniards. At the edge of the Hawikuh area Hodge uncovered two circular kivas of the older black-on-white pottery period, P III.[35] They are of Chaco type. Whether this ruin is ancestral to Hawikuh or merely adjoins it by chance is undetermined. It is quite possible that the Zuñi people borrowed the idea of rectangular kivas incorporated into a house-block (and hence much more quickly and easily completed than if excavated into the ground) from their neighbors, the Acoma, whose succession of pottery types was largely shared by the Zuñi at this time.

Hopi System

The Hopi katcina cult is in the hands of societies joined by an individual through a ceremonial father (and hence neither matrilineal nor patrilineal) and associated with a certain matrilineal exogamous clan through sharing the leader of that clan and performing the ceremonies traditionally felt to belong to that clan and carried by its leader. The kiva claimed by that clan but never used by the clan

33 Bunzel, *Introduction to Zuñi Ceremonialism*, p. 518.
34 Hodge, *Square Kiva at Hawikuh.*
35 Hodge, *Circular Kivas near Hawikuh.*

as such (since there are no clan meetings of any sort) is used by the society in preparing for or performing the ceremonies. The ceremonial relationship between clans and katcina societies in Hopi is reminiscent—although not a duplicate—of the relationship between kiva-katcina groups and medicine societies in the Rio Grande.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

What can we deduce from this resumé of kiva usage in the modern Pueblo area?

To return to our original thesis, all actual kivas, big or little, circular or rectangular, appear to be related to the katcina cult or at least to masked or costumed figures. The little kivas are not clan houses; characteristically, clans do not have houses, if we define the clan (as the term customarily is used in the Southwest) as an exogamous matrilineal group. In Hopi, Zuñi, Taos, and Picuris, however, kiva societies joined through a ceremonial father and hence neither patrilineal nor matrilineal use small kivas for retreats and for ceremonies or for parts of ceremonies dedicated to the katcinas or to other supernatural personages. Only in Hopi is there any definite relationship between clan and kiva. If the Keresans once carried such a pattern, at present there is nothing left but the possible hints at Acoma. The Tewa pueblos probably show remnants of what once were similar small religious groups in their so-called "clans." Indications as to whether these Tewa "clan" groups ever used small kivas, as the presumably comparable Taos and Picuris societies do today in weather control and fertility ceremonies, could be found only by tracing their ancestral pueblos through legend or through pottery or other traits. Some years ago Hewett,[36] who was long a friend and advisor of the San Ildefonsans, reported that they claimed to have come from the north, occupying the villages of Potsuwi'i, Sankawi, Otowi, and others of the Pajarito Plateau as they worked south and eastward to their present location.

It has been suggested that their ultimate origin might have been Mesa Verde.[37] In checking the pottery relationships we find that Tewa Polychrome came from Potsuwi'i incised ware and Sankawi Black-on-Cream.[38] Reed[39] suggests the Gallina area as ancestral to Jemez, an hypothesis borne out both by the distinctive similarity of Gallina Black-on-White pottery to ancestral Jemez Black-on-White, and by the Jemez tradition of its own earlier existence to the northwest.

Thus we have substantiation, in pottery, of the Tewa tradition of ancestry

36 Hewett, *Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau.*
37 Reed, *Sources of Upper Rio Grande Pueblo Culture.*
38 Mera, *Wares Ancestral to Tewa Polychrome.*
39 Reed, *Sources of Upper Rio Grande Pueblo Culture.*

from somewhere in the Mesa Verde area, and thus a reason for believing that the Tewa misnamed "clans" or societies, probably of patrilineal or of non-lineage membership, used kivas of the small Mesa Verde type, just as the Tiwa villages of Taos and Picuris do today in putting on specific and private group ceremonies concerned at least in part with masked supernaturals. To judge by pottery, we would likewise place Pecos ancestry toward the Mesa Verde or neighboring and culturally affiliated areas.

As for the Keresans, from Laguna eastward the big kiva appears in modern pueblos (the "head kiva" of Acoma has been mentioned), and in each case, except in Santa Ana, associated with the cult of katcinas or masked supernaturals. The eastern Keresan pattern, where it is seen most strongly developed, is characterized by two large circular isolated kivas associated with patrilineal katcina societies, often spoken of as ceremonial moieties. The medicine societies so important to Keresans in curing and governmental control likewise participate in the kiva-katcina weather-fertility complex through leadership control or through correlated ceremonies and retreats. Their houses are without distinctive features.

The two big kivas of the Keresans are used for dances and ceremonies pertaining to the village as a whole. The one big kiva customary for the Tanoans today (except for Jemez with its presumably borrowed Keresan traits) similarly is used for night katcina dances, for some day-time katcina dances (where katcinas are impersonated), for other dances or ceremonies involving costumed personages such as the sacred clowns and even the Saints' Day dancers, and for preparation in ceremonial racing. The Tanoans—at least in some villages for which we have information—bury sacred fetishes in the floor or plaster them into the wall to provide "power" for the village. Whether modern Keresans do the same we cannot say.

The only present evidence of offerings in prehistoric big kivas consists of the turquoise and shell pieces and beads found in the small closed wall crypts around the great kiva excavated in Chetro Ketl and the powdered turquoise and shell between the circular sandstone slabs beneath the four log pillars which once supported the roof of that structure. Similar crypts are to be seen in the Pueblo Bonito big kiva, but whatever offerings presumably once existed in them had been removed when the village was deserted or at some later time, before excavation.

It seems probable that the big kiva and the related katcina ceremonies were borrowed by the Tewa from the Keresans in prehistoric times. The Tiwa have one big kiva used for portions of ceremony involving the entire village (although there are not many) and for preparation of clowns. Tiwa do not impersonate

katcinas. We may surmise that their big kiva represents a more attenuated piece of borrowing.

Can we postulate ancestry for the Keresans and their big kiva system?

The big kivas of Chaco Canyon and related areas are famous. They exist more commonly in pairs than as single kivas. Modern Keresan pueblos usually have two, Tanoans usually one. Old Keresan pottery, such as that of the early historic period for Acoma, is distinctly similar to the pottery of the Chaco and adjoining areas in concentration upon hatched designs, marked use of rectilinear and curvilinear scrolls, and the use of mineral pigment over a polished slip.[39] On the same basis, this prehistoric P III pottery of the Chaco likewise is closely related to P III Chupadero Black-on-White, Casa Colorado Black-on-White, and their variants in the Middle Rio Grande area. Moreover, if we trace the other P III big kivas known, at Aztec,[40] at Village of the Great Kivas near Zuñi,[41] Cebolleta Mesa between Acoma and Zuñi,[42] P III Allantown site,[43] P III ruins of the Forestdale Valley,[44] the Lowry area of southwestern Colorado,[45] and the Harris site,[46] in each case we find the association of hatched design black-on-white ware decorated in black mineral paint on top of a polished background slip. It is interesting to note that earliest examples of the big kiva yet known likewise follow along a north-south distribution not far east or west of the Arizona and Utah-New Mexico and Colorado line, the very earliest being reported by Haury from Point of Pines (no publication), Bluff Ruin ca. 325 AD,[47] Starkweather Ruin,[48] Forestdale ca. 667 AD + x,[49] the Luna pit house village[50] (apparently), Shabik'eshchee ca. 777 AD,[51] Martin's late Basketmaker sites in southwestern Colorado,[52] and the Mogollon village ca. 900 AD.[53] Structures uncovered in the SU site in southwestern New Mexico [54] and in the Mogollon and Harris sites [55] may be

39 Patricia Francis, Manuscript, 1946.
40 Morris, *Aztec Ruin.*
41 Roberts, *Village of the Great Kivas.*
42 Ed. Dittert, Manuscript, 1949.
43 Roberts, *Archeological Remains in the Whitewater District,* pp. 245-248.
44 Haury, *Excavations in the Forestdale Valley,* p. 54 fn.
45 Martin, *Lowry Ruin.*
46 Haury, *Mogollon Culture,* p. 162.
47 Haury and Sayles, *Early Pit House Village,* p. 21.
48 Nesbitt, *Starkweather Ruin.*
49 Haury, *Excavations in the Forestdale Valley,* pp. 43-47.
50 Hough, *Exploration of a Pit House Village.*
51 Roberts, *Shabik'eshchee* Village.
52 Martin, *Modified Basket Maker Sites,* pp. 82-84, 350-359.
53 Haury, *Mogollon Culture,* p. 16.
54 Martin, Rinaldo, and Kelly, *The SU Site,* pp. 14-17.
55 Haury, *Mogollon Culture,* pp. 14-17, 56-57.

prototypes of big kivas. In all of these except the SU site (and with the possible exception of Point of Pines) mineral paint black-on-white pottery is associated with the ruin. It might be suggested that the big kiva, without floor features or with floor features entirely different from those of the small kivas of Mesa Verde, Kayenta, etc., evolved in this area from a pit house without sipapu or raised clay floor divisions, just as the northern small kiva showing such features descended from the pit house of its area. Both big and little kivas are found in the districts closely touched by both northern and southern influence, as in the Chaco, Aztec, and Lowry areas.

In Hopi, where we know most about kiva usage, retreats are held in a kiva by the society performing a ceremony, but the large exhibitions often following a retreat are given in the plaza for all to see. We can easily postulate the development of a ceremonial moiety system (where a system came into being) on the basis of the headmen of the kiva groups deciding that two large kivas would be more convenient than the plaza for the final display and for other non-private religious matters. The small kiva groups presumably would unite into two units to use the two kivas, and officers would be put in charge of each kiva. The membership of such a ceremonial moiety or big kiva group would be neither patrilineal nor matrilineal because society membership does not parallel that of the clan. We find no case today in which a lineage group is using a small kiva. It thus seems probable that the prehistoric small kivas were used by non-lineage religious societies, although they may have been owned by clans, and that where large kivas exist in association with small kivas their membership must consequently have been non-lineage, made up of a grouping of the small kiva organizations. If we find only large kivas, it is impossible to postulate type of organization other than to surmise that its function had to do with costumed figures pertaining to rain and fertility.

Identification of chambers which are kivas by function but not by form is difficult. Modern Zuñi kivas are rectangular and incorporated into the house-block. Acoma kivas are of similar type. Most Hopi kivas are rectangular but subterranean; a few modern ones are rooms built above ground. All of the Pueblos formerly entered kivas, of whatever type, by means of a ladder through the roof; some use the more practical ground-floor doorway today. Unless a kiva built within a house-block possessed a ladder-pit or fireplace with terraced back (not a universal feature) archaeologists excavating it today would be unable to recognize it as a kiva. If it chanced to be larger than the other house-block rooms, it might be suspected to be of ceremonial nature, but could not be distinguished from moiety or society rooms.

Historical reconstruction is never without danger, but sometimes in an excess of caution one neglects to put together scattered data pertaining to form and function of certain features that might provide considerable information. If the Keresans came from the Chaco area, they lost little kivas sometime between the middle 12th century and today, a loss which may coincide with the apparent loss of importance of clans and the possibly resultant acceptance of the patrilineal principle for big kiva membership. This principle could have been taken from their neighbors the Tewa, with whom the patrilineal moiety system was important as a means of governmental as well as ceremonial control. But in the old Tewa system, if "clans" made up the moiety, they could have been non-lineage societies joined through a ceremonial father, as in present-day Taos, with the moiety hence neither patrilineal nor matrilineal. Or the "clans" making up the moiety could have been patrilineal in themselves. In the former case, the patrilineal principle of today would have had to come from an outside group, presumably the Whites, although the lateness of White arrival militates against the concept.

If the Tewa "clans" were not grouped into a moiety, which seems much more probable, they could have been either matrilineal or non-lineage. If the former, the matrilineal concept may have been borrowed from that of the Keresans. However, it seems more likely that they were simple lineage groups, religious societies, joined through a ceremonial father.

The known fact that the Tano people who moved from the Rio Grande to Hano dropped their own old ceramic style and became the best of the "Hopi" potters of today should be sufficient warning against placing too positive a reliance on the permanency of any specific tribal trait, but the further fact that the people of Hano preserved their moiety two-kiva system reflects the perseverance of form in religious organization. It would be rash to state that wherever one found prehistoric big kivas, the inhabitants of the site must have spoken Keres; or, similarly, that all sites of Mesa Verde affiliation were the homes of Tanoans.

If we postulate a Tewa migration from the Mesa Verde down across the Pajarito Plateau and an earlier Keresan migration from the Chaco area by way of Cebolleta Mesa and the route of present Highway 66, we not only follow the lines of distribution of their apparent ancestral pottery, but also explain the tendency toward historic grouping of the Tewa near the mouth of the Chama, north of Santa Fe, and the Keresans south and westward.

The big kiva system seems to have been borrowed from the Keresans by the Tanoans with, in general, loss of one kiva and amalgamation of war features traditionally belonging to an earlier cult of their own. This borrowing apparently occurred for the most part after both groups were located in the Rio Grande.

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METHODS OF CORN POPPING AND THEIR HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

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FROM STURTEVANT (1894) to Mangelsdorf [1] (1948) a few discerning students of maize have taken a special interest in popcorns since it would seem reasonable that popping might have been one of the oldest, if not the oldest use of this ancient crop. The earliest varieties of maize must certainly have had small kernels as hard as glass. How could a primitive folk have utilized them? Most probably by eating the immature kernels, by sprouting the kernels to make a malt beverage, or by popping the kernels with heat. Hence the special significance to the student of maize, of fermented maize beverages, of green corn, and of popcorn. The occurrences of popcorn at archaeological sites in both Mexico and Peru, as well as the actual prehistoric popped kernels in the latter area have served to justify this hypothesis. The recent discovery of a prehistoric pod corn which was also a popcorn as determined by Mangelsdorf and Smith [2] (1949) at an early New Mexican site shows how long a history must be assigned to what we ordinarily look upon as a trivial, everyday confection.

If the earliest types of maize were popcorns then it would seem that a study of modern popcorn would immediately demonstrate the most primitive type of existing maize and offer decisive evidence of its place of origin. Even an elementary survey of the kinds of popcorn dispells this illusion. Maize, our most variable cultivated plant, has myriad varieties clustered in several vaguely defined races. There is a popcorn in each race and in most cases the popcorns seem to be among the oldest and most sharply defined examples of each race. This is certainly true in Mexico.[3] The maize of western Mexico is so different from that of the valley of Mexico that were they wild grasses and were there no intermediates they would certainly be assigned to different species and might even merit different genera. There are popcorns in each race, *maíz reventador* and *maíz chapolote* in the west and *maíz de arroz* in the other. In every character but kernel size, the two most different kinds of maize in Mexico are these two kinds

1 E. Lewis Sturtevant, *Notes on Maize* (Bulletin, Torrey Botanical Club, no. 21, pp. 319-343, 503-523, 1894); Paul C. Mangelsdorf, *The Role of Pod Corn in the Origin and Evolution of Maize* (Annals, Missouri Botanical Garden, vol. 35, pp. 377-406, 1948).

2 Paul C. Mangelsdorf and C. Earl Smith, Jr., *New Archaeological Evidence on Evolution in Maize* (Botanical Museum Leaflet, Harvard University, vol. 13, pp. 213-247, 1949).

3 Edgar Anderson, *Maíz reventador* (Annals, Missouri Botanical Garden, vol. 31, pp. 301-314, 1944).

of popcorn. Aside from their ability to explode suddenly when heat is applied, the popcorns of the world have nothing which separates them from other sorts. As was shown by Weatherwax [4] the ability to pop is strictly a matter of the hardness of the endosperm. If the endosperm is hard enough it will lose its water all at once when heat is applied, even if the grain has been cracked into small pieces.

The history of popcorns and of corn-popping must therefore be long and intricate. If we are ever to work it out we must neglect no avenue of approach. One of the most significant would seem to be a study of the ways in which maize has been popped; that is, the actual popping process. To those who have not looked into the subject, this seems a matter too trivial for investigation, hence, an almost complete lack of published information either in anthropological or agronomic literature. Even most trained observers, when questioned as to how maize was popped in a certain area, have tended to reply "Why, they just pop it" when actually the process is a varied one and ranges from the most primitive uses of heat to some of the most complicated.

Apparently the simplest way in which maize is popped is by throwing it into the fire or onto a cleared area near the fire. This has been recorded for both the Old World and the New.[5] For the Mishmi, in the Himalayas of Assam, Stonor writes "I have seen Mishmi women making popcorn by putting the grain in the edge of the house fire, and picking it out as it bursts." [6] For the Apa Tani tribe in the same region he records a further detail: "Popcorn is prepared in considerable amounts, and is made by putting the grain into the glowing embers of the fire and picking it out with bamboo tongs as it bursts." [7] A slightly more sopisticated way is to pop the kernels by placing them in sand which has previously been heated over the fire. This likewise is known from both the Old World and the New. Stonor [8] describes its use in this manner by a number of tribes in the Naga area.

The commonest way in which maize is popped is in an ordinary cooking vessel, either of clay or of metal, with or without a lid and with or without the addition of oil or fat. This, too, is common in both the Old World and the New. Stonor records it for numerous tribes in the Naga country [9] and it is a common practice

4 Paul Weatherwax, *The Popping of Corn* (Proceedings, Indiana Academy of Science, 1921, pp. 149-153, 1922).

5 Frederick W. Waugh, *Iroquois Foods and Food Preparation* (Memoir, Geological Survey of Canada, no. 86 [Anthropological Series, no. 12], 1916).

6 C. R. Stonor and Edgar Anderson, *Maize among the Hill Peoples of Assam* (Annals, Missouri Botanical Garden, vol. 36, pp. 355-404, 1949).

7 *Op. cit.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

CORN PUFFER FROM COCHABAMBA, BOLIVIA

in western Mexico, central Mexico, and in those parts of the Guatemalan highlands where popcorn is grown.[10] Of particular interest are the special devices used in popping or parching corn. One of these has been described by Stevenson in his account of the Chin tribes in Upper Burma.[11] A distinctive food is produced from roasted maize known as *Vainiim kan,* an almost identical food *Vai kan* being prepared in the same way from roasted sorghum. He describes the process as follows:

The grain is soaked in water for a minute or two to damp it thoroughly and is then steamed as if to prepare it for fermenting, after which it is spread on mats to dry in

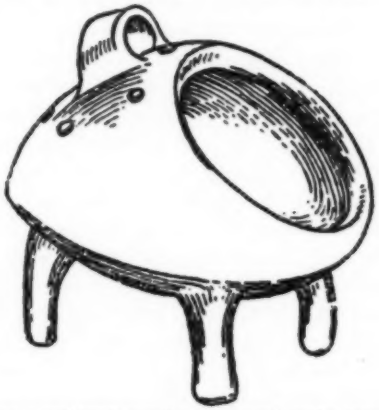

FIG. 1. *Olla canchera,* a prehistoric vessel used to parch maize (reproduced from Valcárcel, *Los trabajos arqueológicos del Cuzco*).

the sun. In the final stages of preparation the swollen grain is roasted in a *peibung* until it bursts like puffed wheat. The whole is then pounded with salt or honey, made into convenient lumps which are taken on hunting parties, etc. The *peibung* is the traditional grain-roasting pot, shaped rather like a beer pot but with a large hole in one side. Its very existence proved the antiquity of the roasting method of cooking.

The "traditional grain roasting pot" described for Burma by Stevenson sounds very similar to the pot for parching corn which Rick discovered being used in the Sierra of Ancash, the highest part of the Peruvian upland.[12] He describes a roughly spherical clay pot (Figure 1) with a large hole at one side and a handle

10 Edgar Anderson, *Field Studies of Guatemalan Maize* (Annals, Missouri Botanical Garden, vol. 34, pp. 433-467, 1947).

11 H. N. C. Stevenson, *The Economics of the Central Chin Tribes* (1943).

12 Charles M. Rick and Edgar Anderson, *On Some Uses of Maize in the Sierra of Ancash* (Annals, Missouri Botanical Garden, vol. 36, pp. 405-412, 1949).

which goes across the top of the utensil. He refers to a prehistoric miniature example with tripod legs seen in the Instituto Arquelogico at Cuzco, presumably the same one described and illustrated by Valcárcel.[13]

A curious development of the method of popping in hot oil is suggested by Mangelsdorf and Reeves in their classic paper[14] on the origin of maize. They quote Azara's description published in 1809 of a strange kind of maize which bore its kernels in the tassel. When the entire tassel was immersed in boiling oil the kernels popped in place, producing, according to Azara, "un superbe bouquet, capable d'orner la nuit la tete de une dame." Mangelsdorf and Reeves suggested[15] that this might refer to a tasselseed popcorn (i.e. a mutant form with perfect flowers in the male in florescence) and later produced such a freak and demonstrated that it could indeed be popped in hot oil, producing so strange and beautiful an ornament that it was generally admired by present day sophisticates.

Symptomatic of the general neglect of the subject is the fact that the common American wire corn popper does no seem to have been described or illustrated. To complete the record it may be described as a small basket of wire screen with a hinged lid, usually of the same material. It is affixed by means of stout wires to a handle usually several feet long. This allows the kernels to be suspended above hot coals, leaving the operator in comparative comfort some little distance from the fire and providing at the same time a retaining screen when the kernels explode from the heat. It would be interesting to know when and by whom this simple device was invented and to what parts of the world it has been carried. Strangely enough the only record we have outside of the United States is from eastern Turkey where one of Mr Volney Jones' informants reports a similar device as in general use. Some of the poppers made in colonial times were made of pierced sheet iron and suggest a development of the warming pan. A much rarer form of early American corn-popper was a perforated cylinder of thin sheet iron which revolved on an axle in front of the fireplace, "like a squirrel cage" according to our informant, an old gentleman from Rye, New Hampshire.

The most intricate and at the same time the most efficient means of popping cereals is to heat them in a closed cylinder until the required pressure is developed and then to release the pressure suddenly. Under these conditions any ordinary kind of maize can be puffed up into something closely resembling popped corn. In the United States the process was patented and is the basis of a series of

13 L. E. Valcárcel, *Los trabajos arqueológicos del Cuzco. II. Sajaswaman rediscubierto* (Revista, Museo Nacional, Lima, vol. 3, pp. 211-234, 1934).

14 Paul C. Mangelsdorf and R. G. Reeves, *The Origin of Indian Corn and its Relatives* (Texas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, no. 574, 1939).

15 *Op. cit.*

breakfast cereals. The same general principle, however, has been rather widely used, both in the Orient and in the New World.

For the Orient, as yet we have no more than the informal account of Dr W. Bangham whom we interviewed several years after his return from Sumatra. He remembered popcorn as being very commonly used there, particularly in the villages and that it was popped in a metal cylinder or sphere, which either blew a plug when a certain pressure was reached or had a valve by which the pressure could be controlled. He remembered no further details except that these popping (or puffing) devices were of various sorts, some of them being highly elaborate pieces of machinery.

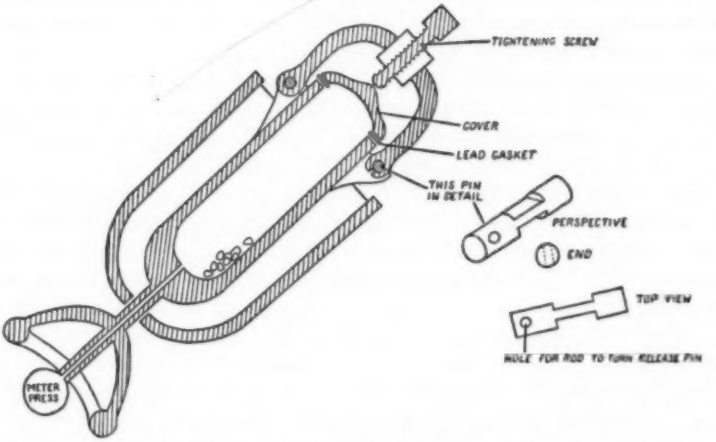

Fig. 2. Working diagram showing operation of the corn puffer which was being operated in Cochabamba, Bolivia.

His account having brought such possibilities to our attention, the junior author observed similar machines in use at Cochabamba and La Paz, Bolivia, at Puno, Ayaviri, and Cuzco in Peru. The one from Cochabamba is shown in the accompanying illustration with the blow torch which is used in operating it. A working drawing of the apparatus is given in Figure 2. About a cupful of corn kernels are put into the inner chamber, the cover is placed on, then the arm with the tightening screw is placed in position and the pin is turned so the flat areas face the ends of the inner chamber. The screw is tightened and a blow torch is turned into the opening in the side of the outer chamber while the hand wheel is

spun to rotate the inner chamber. From time to time the meter is read and when it reaches a sufficiently high pressure the release pin is turned and the slotted arm escapes violently, releasing the cover and the corn explosively into a canvas spread for the purpose. The cover is retrieved and the process repeated.

The variety of corn used for the process is usually the one called *paltal hualtacu,* most of it raised in the Cochabamba valley. It is a yellow flint with faint blue aleurone. The machine is also used for rice and (very rarely) for wheat. No one questioned had ever used it for two native seeds which are frequently popped: *milmi* (Amaranthus) or *quinoa* (Chenopodium).

The kernels produced by this puffing process are called *pisingalla,* the old Quechua name for pop corn, but it can be distinguished from genuine popcorn by the remnants of the pericarp being distributed over the surface of the puffed kernel instead of being mainly at one end.

Recently one of our informants, a returned missionary from South Korea, described a similar device as being in use there for the popping of various cereals. This is in agreement with our information from Bolivia where these devices were said to be of Japanese manufacture.

The puffed kernels produced from the machine are sold to venders who market the grains or use them in making *crispetas,* a confection in which the puffed grains are stirred into a pan with melted sugar, a bit of salt and some coloring, to give just a little sweet taste to the grains but not to cover them completely.

This short account covers the methods of corn popping which have come to our attention or have been described in the literature. There are probably others. If anthropologists and ethnologists could be induced to describe corn popping we should eventually be able to work out a coherent monograph on the subject. Like the making of string figures by children, corn popping has more significance for the anthropologist than is immediately apparent. The whole subject of the popping of cereals deserves real scholarly attention. Both in the Old World and in the New there are wide areas in which various cereals are commonly popped for everyday food as well as for confections. Rice, Sorghum, and grain Amaranths are the grains most commonly used.

Though we ordinarily associate it with circuses and carnivals it is one of the world's oldest, as well as most distinctive foods. It is therefore an important item in the story of mankind.

Missouri Botanical Garden
St. Louis, Missouri
Chicago Museum of Natural History
Chicago, Illinois

IN DEFENSE OF MORGAN'S "GRECIAN GENS": ANCIENT KINSHIP AND STRATIFICATION

HOWARD BECKER

I

IN THE PROCESS of writing a book to be entitled *Mind on the Looms of Greece*, a follow-up of the writer's earlier study,[1] it has been necessary to arrive at a tenable decision about the nature of Greek kinship systems. This decision is based on research that initially owed *nothing* to Morgan's *Ancient Society*. Instead, Gustave Glotz, Eduard Meyer, Georg Busolt, and a considerable number of other more recent specialists were closely compared, and only after the substantive research had been done did the writer discover that it went far to sustain a number of the conclusions reached by Morgan about the "Grecian gens."[2]

In spite of Morgan's shortcomings, many of them inevitable in his day, he knew a great deal about Greece. As Stern has shown, Morgan had good elementary training in Greek, also took advanced work, and continued his interest in later life.[3] In fact, the writer would hazard the assertion that the Greeks had almost as much to do as the Iroquois with some aspects of Morgan's thought.

The following analysis will make little direct reference to Morgan, for in spite of the title of the paper, the primary purpose is not to defend him, but rather to show that research demonstrates that he can be defended *where Greece is con-*

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1 Howard Becker, *Ionia and Athens: Studies in Secularization* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1930). As one of the research assistants for the follow-up (financed by the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin), Norman O. Brown, then a graduate student, now of Connecticut Wesleyan, did a large amount of highly useful and outstandingly excellent work on the present topic in 1940-42. It must be clearly stated, however, that he bears no responsibility for the form, substance, or conclusions of this paper.

Where the form is concerned, the reader will note that all accents and diacritical marks in Greek words, uniformly transliterated, have been omitted. Those who know Greek do not need them; others only find them annoying.

2 It should be unnecessary to insert the following "personal equation" remarks, but the hotly controversial nature of the topic makes them unavoidable. (1) The writer is not only anti-Communist, but also anti-orthodox-Marxist; hence he has no reverence for Morgan as a saint of *any* faith. (2) He has never belonged, so far as he knows, to any organization patronized by "fellow-travelers." (3) In many of his publications he has sharply criticized the exponents of Golden Age social thought pointing toward "classless societies" of past or future. (4) Corollary-wise, he has long rejected social and cultural evolutionism, and still does. (5) In particular, the rejection of Morgan's general evolutionary scheme is *complete*.

3 Bernhard J. Stern, *Lewis Henry Morgan: Social Evolutionist* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 4-5, 205.

cerned. Recent scholars will be drawn upon, and in particular, a good deal of attention will be paid to the great French historian, Gustave Glotz, who, as it turns out, is closest to the position taken by Morgan.

The analysis will be quite intricate; no simple piling up of opinion *pro* and *contra* will suffice.

Greek kinship is not a matter in which it is possible to reproduce the received opinion of the experts on Greek history, for there is today no received opinion, and the case was little different in Morgan's time. It is known that in Athens in the sixth century BC there were four main categories of kinship-groupings to which an individual might belong. These were: (1) the immediate family, or household (*oikos*), consisting of husband, wife, and children; (2) the extended family (with consanguine extension), in Attic law reaching only as far as the grandchildren of brothers and sisters and the grandchildren of uncles, which group was called "the near-relatives" (*anchisteia*); (3) the patrilineal clan (*genos*); (4) the phratry (*phratria*); and (5) the tribe (*phyle*).[4] Now, while Glotz[5] regards the clan, phratry, and tribe as the characteristic social groupings of the Greeks in the period before the city-state, no less an authority than Eduard Meyer[6] regards all of them as comparatively late phenomena, created after the formation of the city-state or in the process of that formation.

Do the clan, phratry, and tribe represent vestiges of the social organization of the Greeks in the period before the formation of the city-state? The question is of crucial importance for Glotz's analysis of the formation and significance of the city-state, for it is precisely one of these groupings, the clan, which in that analysis is both the primary social organization in pre-city-state society and also the polar antithesis of the city-state itself. Glotz speaks of the city-state as establishing its supremacy at the expense of the previous autonomy of the clan, of the city-state as emancipating the individual from the umbilical cord that tied him to the clan, etc.[7] If the views of Meyer are right, and the clan is an organization originating

4 Georg Busolt, *Griechisch Staatskunde* (Munich, 1920), vol. 1, pp. 248-262.

5 Gustave Glotz, *The Greek City* (trans. Mallinson: New York, 1929), pp. 5-6; Gustave Glotz and Robert Cohen, *Histoire grecque* (Paris, 1925), vol. 1, pp. 118-124, 390. I cannot verify the date of the French original of the first item in this note, but internal evidence shows that it definitely antedates the second. The first will hereafter be cited as GC, the second as GH.

6 Eduard Meyer, *Über die Anfänge des Staates und sein Verhältniss zu den Geschlechtsverbände und zum Volkstum* (Sitzungs-Berichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1907, pp. 508-538); *idem, Geschichte des Altertums* (2nd. ed., Stuttgart, 1937), vol. 3, pp. 283-286.

7 Note the titles of the three books into which Glotz divides *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce* (Paris, 1904): I. La famille souveraine; II. La cité contre la famille; III. La cité souveraine. *La Solidarité* will hereafter be cited as GS.

only in the period of the Greek aristocracies, after the establishment of the city-state, and originating in response to the specific social situation then existing, then it is difficult to see how much remains standing of Morgan's famous chapters in *Ancient Society*, or of Glotz's book, generally regarded as a classic, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*.

If on this question the judgments of leading historical authorities were fairly evenly divided, it might perhaps be justifiable to state one's own preference, and leave it to the general coherence of the argument and the use made of the hypothesis preferred to win the reader's allegiance to one's own side. The fact is, however, that Meyer's views, at least on the clan, seem to have gained the support of the majority of scholars outside of France. It therefore seems in order for anyone who ranges himself on the side of the view that the clan does represent the fundamental grouping in Greek society before the establishment of the city-state to present an argument in defense of this view, and to show just cause for departing from the view of the majority of the experts in the field. This is all the more necessary since neither Glotz nor any of the scholars who have developed his point of view have really come to grips with the rival interpretation of the clan.

In this paper no attempt is made to present a complete analysis of all the issues in this controversy. In the first place, attention is focused almost exclusively on the clan. In the second place, no claim is made that any new evidence is adduced. The main objective is to show that the evidence generally considered leads to the conclusion opposite to that generally drawn from it, i.e. that it points to the view that the clan is of pre-city-state antiquity and, as a corollary, that Morgan was often right *in so far as* his analysis of the "Grecian gens"—i.e. the clan in our sense—is concerned.

How divergent are the recent definitions of the scope of the clan can be seen by contrasting Glotz's definitions in *The Greek City* (pp. 6-8) and his *Historie grecque* (vol. 1, p. 391) with the definitions to be found in Busolt's *Griechische Staatskunde* (2nd edition: vol. 3, pp. 283-286). The relevant evidence is so fragmentary that the positively known facts are not by themselves sufficient to yield an intelligible picture of the history and function of the clan, and therefore have to be supplemented by general considerations based on a particular view of Greek social history. In this situation it seems best to begin by stating the known facts about the Attic clan, in spite of their inadequacy, and then proceed to consider the more important question of the historical framework in which these facts should be placed.

II

The clan was a group of individuals held together by the belief that they were descendants of a common ancestor. In historical times the (real or fictitious) kinship bond between all the clansmen (*gennetai*) was so remote that the clan fell naturally into groups of "kindred" (*syngeneis*), a term which was distinguished from the term (*gennetai*) designating membership in the same clan.[8] The few examples of clan family-trees which we possess are relatively late; they would indicate that the (real or fictitious) common ancestor was placed about fifteen generations back, in the ninth century BC.[9] Membership in the clan descended exclusively in the male line.

In historical times the function of the clan centered round two fundamental activities: (1) the performance of certain ancestral rituals,[10] and (2) the maintenance of an authorized membership list, including the admission, on presentation, of the qualified new members, a function which had importance in the city-state in that the evidence of the clan was accepted in the law-courts, along with other evidence, in determining disputed questions of relationship.[11]

On the internal organization of the clan in the classical period the following facts are known. At the head of the clan stood a "ruler" (*archon*), chosen, like the "rulers" of the Athenian state, annually by lot. There was also a treasurer (*tamias* or *epimeletes*), who was in charge of the common property of the clan. This common property consisted in holy precincts, a meeting-place for the clan, and some cash funds. The affairs of the clan (the regulation of their priesthoods, the administration of their property, the supervision of their membership list) were directed in egalitarian fashion by the members of the clan meeting in plenary session.[12]

Finally, we have some statistical data on the number of the Attic clans and the number of Athenians who belonged to them in the classical period. The most important fact, which is universally admitted, is that certainly not all, and very probably only a definite minority of Athenians, belonged to clans in the classical period. Ferguson's estimate that only one-quarter of the Athenians were clansmen seems not unfounded, and to my knowledge has not been attacked.[13] As to the

8 Georg Busolt *Griechisch Geschichte* (Gotha, 1893-1904), vol. 2, pp. 113; *idem, Griechische Staatskunde* (Munich, 1904), vol. 2, p. 957. Hereafter the first item will be cited as BG, the second as BS.

9 BS, vol. 1, p. 249 and note 3.

10 Gaetano DeSanctis, *ATTHIS: Storia della republica ateniese* (Turin, 1912), pp. 61-62.

11 BS, vol. 2, p. 957 and note 6.

12 BG, vol. 2, p. 116.

13 W. S. Ferguson, *The Athenian Phratries* (Classical Quarterly, vol. 4, 1910), pp. 261, 277.

number of clans, there are about ninety names which with varying degrees of certainty have been asserted to be names of clans; [14] the most skeptical analysis would reduce this to about fifty.[15] Of course, there is no reason for assuming that our lists are complete. Aristotle raises the number to as high as 360, though it is generally held that he arrives at this number not *a posteriori*, but on the basis of an arithmetical schema. Inscriptional evidence, from the period of the Roman Empire, would indicate about one hundred members per clan.[16]

These are all the general facts about the Athenian clan which may be taken as known. There are in addition some particular facts about particular clans (*gene*) and also we have some presentations of what the Greeks themselves thought to be the history and scope of the clan; these have been fitted into the various modern theories, and we shall have occasion to refer to them when considering those theories.

It is perhaps worthwhile, in order to show the nature of the evidence and the degree of certainty obtainable when theorizing about the Greek clan, to compare the list of known characteristics of the clan with the characteristics ascribed to it by those who take the view that it represents the primary social unit before the rise of the city-state. Let us take the ten characteristics of the "Grecian gens" given by Morgan in his *Ancient Society* [17] (a list which covers the major points):

(1) "Common religious rites." This is obvious and undeniable.

(2) "A common burial-place." There seems to be no unequivocal direct evidence showing this. Glotz maintains that the Attic clans did have a common burial-place, at least in the earliest period, and quotes some indirect evidence; [18] it has also been claimed that there is indirect evidence to the contrary.[19] It is a question that can hardly be decided apart from general theories on the antiquity and scope of the clan. One other complication should be noted. It is certain that

14 J. A. F. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889) names 87; Ferguson, *op cit.*, p. 277, note 3, draws attention to 4 new ones discovered on inscriptions.

15 DeSanctis, *op. cit.*, p. 63 and note 3.

16 Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-277.

17 Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society* (New York, 1877), pp. 222-226 *et seq.*

18 GH, vol. 1, p. 391 and note 71.

19 By Dittenberger in Hermes, vol. 20. pp. 4 *et seq.*, pointing to the distinction made by Demosthenes LVII, 67, between the clansmen and "those who share the same burial ground." The passage would, however, seem to prove too much, since it also distinguishes "those who share the same burial ground" from the "near-relatives" (*anchisteia*) group; we would therefore have to infer that "those who share the same burial ground" did not compose a kinship group of any kind or degree, and this does not seem credible. On the other hand, the evidence of Plutarch, *Solon* 21, seems quite strong in favor of the view that up to the time of Solon the clan did play a role in funeral ritual. Plutarch says that Solon restricted mourners to the *anchisteia* group; it is implied that a wider group was previously involved. Compare also Demosthenes XLIII, 62.

burial-grounds in Greece were a familial affair. Now the Greeks used the word *genos* in two senses: (a) in the technical sense which we have been discussing, and which may be translated "clan"; and (b) as a general equivalent of our word "family," designating the group of near kindred also termed *syngeneis*, which, as we said above, was distinct from the group of clansmen. In this second, narrower sense, *genos* means "family." Now in respect to common burial, and also to other of Morgan's characteristics of the "Grecian gens," we find that he can be shown to refer to a known feature of the Greek family in this narrower sense. Much else has to be proved, however, before we are justified in holding that it was also a feature of the clan, even at an earlier period.[20] In particular, we should have to prove that the Greek family in the narrower sense, in the classical period, represents a breaking-up of an original clan-system.

(3) "Mutual rights of succession to property of deceased members." Here again there does not seem to be any direct and unequivocal evidence that the members of the clan had any rights of succession to the property of a deceased member. Contrariwise, the members of the immediate family (*genos* in the narrower sense) had rights which were carefully regulated on the basis of degrees of kinship. Here again, any argument that the rights of succession possessed in the classical period by the family were at an earlier period possessed by the clan must be preceded by demonstration of the (earlier) universality and predominance of the clan. Only when this question is settled can we hope to interpret the statement of Plutarch that before Solon "property had to remain in the *genos*," in which the word *genos* is taken by Glotz[21] in the technical sense of clan, and by Busolt[22] in the non-technical sense of family.

(4) "Reciprocal obligations of help, defense and redress of injuries." Glotz's book, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, attempts (a) to show that originally the operative unit in matters involving defense and redress of injuries was the clan, and (b) to trace the gradual emergence of a conception of

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20 It is regrettable that not only Morgan, but also Lecrivain (art. "Gens" in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romains* (Paris, 1873-1919), and Glotz (in GS especially) attribute functions and traits to the *genos* without keeping the distinction between small and extended family clear. The result is that the reader must carefully analyze each statement to see whether the function can justifiably be attributed to the extended *genos*, i.e. the clan in the full sense.

21 GH, vol. 1, p. 433 and note 42; cf. also M. Wilbrandt, *Die attischen Geschlechter vor Solon* (Philologus, vol. 7, pp. 197-200) taking the same view as GH, vol. 1, p. 199: "... auf keine Weise also konnte Landbesitz aus den Geschlechtern herausfallen."

22 BS, vol. 1, p. 142 and notes 2 and 3. It may also be questioned whether the limitation of inheritance to the *triakas*, or group of thirty, is rightly interpreted by BG, vol. 2, pp. 111-112, note 1, as referring to the *anchisteia* rather than the clan.

individual responsibility. It must be admitted, as has already been stated, that Glotz's theories about the initial solidarity of the clan are not based on direct evidence, but are inferences resting (among other things) on the hypothesis of a one-time universality of the clan as a social institution. It is a fact that in Attic law on homicide, the clan of the dead man has no role, although his phratry does; this is even used as an argument in favor of the view that the clan was not an ancient and never a universal kinship-grouping, whereas the phratry was.[23] At the same time it would be generally admitted, even by those to whom the clan is the characteristic organization of the Greek aristocracies, that down to the time of Cleisthenes the Attic clans did act as operative units in the pursuit of power and property,[24] and that in fact it was one of the objectives of Cleisthenes' reforms to put an end to this state of affairs.[25] We may therefore say that there was an obligation to mutual help in the "Grecian gens." Whether we may represent the clan as operative in blood-feuds, etc., after the manner of clans in other societies, depends on the view held about the antiquity and scope of the clan in Greece.

(5) "The right to intermarry in the gens in cases of orphan daughters and heiresses." It was indeed a part of Attic and general Greek law that females, recognized as heiresses in default of male heirs, not only could but should marry their nearest male relative (the epiclerate) so as to ensure the transmission of the property to a male descendant.[26] However, the *genos* in the technical sense of clan does not figure in this, and could only figure in it in default of any male in the immediate family to whom the heiress might be given. I know of no evidence which would justify the assertion of any role, at any time, attributed to the clan in the epiclerate. Here Morgan unquestionably went too far. Nor is it easy to see what general considerations induced Glotz to attribute "immemorial antiquity" to the institution of the epiclerate,[27] since it presupposes a system of private ownership of property as distinct from the system of collective ownership by the clan which Morgan and Glotz regard as "the primitive system" in Greece.[28]

(6) "The possession of common property, an archon, and a treasurer." All these, as we saw, are directly attested for the Attic clan. It is important, however,

23 E.g. by Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-262; BS, vol. 1, p. 250 and note 1.

24 GH, vol. 1, p. 392, has this: "Dans les guerres civiles qui vont s'engager, tantôt entre les régions de l'Attique, tantôt entre les classes sociales, tantôt entre les factions politiques, se cachent toujours des luttes de clans."

25 Cf. BS, vol. 2, pp. 877-888: "Der demokratische Charakter der von Kleisthenes geschaffenen Einteilung lag in der grundsätzlichen Loslösung von den gentilizischen Verbänden."

26 BS, vol. 1, p. 240; GS, pp. 336-340.

27 GS, p. 336.

28 GC, p. 7: ". . . property was consequently inalienable and indivisible. There were no rules of succession—it passed in an unbroken chain from the dead to the living. . . ."

to realize the restricted nature of the common property which is directly attested. The common property consists of little or nothing apart from a meeting-place or a holy precinct. There is no *direct* evidence that the clan ever possessed property used to supply its members with their livelihood.[29] Yet Glotz represents the primitive clan, with its collectively owned property, as forming a self-sufficient economic unit.[30] We do not mean to imply that Glotz is wrong in making such statements; we only wish to make it clear that the hypothesis of a primitive collective ownership by the clan of the basic sources of livelihood is another of those points which depend on a particular view of the history of the clan.

(7) "The limitation of descent to the male line." This is universally recognized to be true of the Attic clan.[31]

(8) "The obligation not to marry in the gens except in certain cases." There seems to be no evidence indicating that the Attic clan was exogamous. Certain Greek institutions, especially religious institutions, have been interpreted as survivals of the custom of clan exogamy;[32] but before we can speak of exogamous clans in Greece we must first demonstrate an adequate degree of antiquity for the Greek clan. Morgan is probably too sweeping here.

(9) "The right to adopt strangers." Adoption was a well-established custom for all sorts of Greek kinship-groups,[33] and we have inscriptional evidence for adoption by a clan.[34]

(10) "The right to elect and depose its chiefs." The evidence we have points to election by lot as the mode of selecting the archon of an Attic clan,[35] but this evidence comes from a late period. Earlier there may have been no such egalitarianism. Morgan was strongly predisposed in favor of "liberty, equality, and fraternity."

From this comparison between the clan as it appears in the historical period and the characteristics attributed to the clan by that school of thought which holds

29 Cf. Ferguson, *The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion* (Hesperia, vol. 7, pt. 1, 1938), p. 44 and note 3: "There is no sound evidence that the *gene* as corporations ever owned lands and properties beyond those which they still possessed in the fourth century and used to defray their religious and other communal expenses." See also BS, vol. 1, p. 142 and note 2.

30 E.g. GC, p. 7: "The demesne, with its livestock and slaves, belonged in common to the whole group," etc.

31 BS, vol. 2, p. 955.

32 Numerous suggestions appear in L. Gernet and A. Boulanger, *Le Génie grec dans la religion* (Paris, 1932), pp. 32-55.

33 GS, pp. 135-165.

34 E.g., Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1898-1901), no. 119, and *Corpus inscriptionem graecarum*, no. 2161.

35 BG, vol. 2, p. 116 and note 1.

that it was once the primary social grouping in Greece, some general conclusions seem to emerge. First, if the clan was ever the primary social unit, already by the beginning of the historical period it has ceased to have any such function. Second, it is of crucial importance to decide whether or not it is necessary to allow that the clan ever had a more extensive role than the limited one it has in the historical period. Only if it can be established that the clan in the historical period does represent an atrophied vestige of what was once an institution much more pervasive in its influence is it possible even to entertain the very important theory that there was once in Greece a system of collective ownership of property by the clan. For, to return to our initial statement of the problem, there are those who hold that the clan is an institution no older than the rise of the Greek aristocracies. Since it would be agreed by those who hold the theory of collective ownership of property by the clan that in the age of the rise of the Greek aristocracies property tended to be individually held, it is obvious that the postulate of a primitive, economically, socially, and morally autonomous and unitary clan must be abandoned *unless* it can be shown that the clan is older than the age of the Greek aristocracies, and that the rise of the Greek aristocracies seriously changed and attenuated its functions.

III

We therefore proceed to consider the view that the clan is no older than the rise of the Greek aristocracies. This view is based on the proposition that the clan was in origin an organization to which the aristocratic class (in Athens the "Well-Sired" or Eupatrids) had exclusive access, in such a manner that membership in a clan was equivalent to being a Eupatrid. The whole substance of this interpretation of the clan is implied in the use of the term "hereditary nobility" or "noble houses" (*Adelsgeschlechter*) as an equivalent for clan; this usage is current among the German scholars who support the view we are examining. We proceed to give a summary statement of this point of view and the arguments on which it is based. We shall treat separately three different reconstructions of the history of the Attic clan, all of which agree in identifying the clan with the Eupatrids; we shall argue that the differences between them are due to the failure to dispose of difficulties entailed by their common major premise. We shall therefore argue that an analysis of the evidence leads to the conclusion that in origin the clan was not limited in membership to the Eupatrids, but rather included the whole of Attic society, not merely the élite.

The protagonist of the view that the clan is a Eupatrid organization is Eduard Meyer (on whom, by the way, Max Weber leaned in his interpretation of

the clan). Meyer's position may be seen from the following paraphrase and quotations from his essay "*Zur Rechtfertigung des zweiten Bandes meiner Geschichte des Altertums*" printed in his *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* (vol. 2, pp. 512-548); in this essay he states most fully the arguments on which the views taken in his *Geschichte des Altertums* rest. Meyer presupposes the family in the narrow sense as prior to the clan; the process of the formation of the clan is the same as the process of distinguishing, as a superior status-group, the large landowners (the aristocracy) from the homogeneous mass; the clan

> . . . develops out of the circumstance that the clinging together (*Zusammenhang*) of the family persists beyond the living generations as a consequence of the settling down (*Sesshaftigkeit*) of the large landowners. With stable conditions and greater heritage (*Erbgut*) there arises an ideal integration (*Zusammenhang*) that transcends the circle of immediate relatives *(anepsiades)* and remains vital for centuries. Thus these groups set themselves apart from the homogeneous mass of the folk as something special. They are self-contained, and therefore are not of the same origin as their tribal fellows, but have their own genealogy. It is clear, and is contested by no one, that this development can have occurred only in the circles of the ruling families. [Meyer concludes that] clan organization is peculiarly the expression and bearer of control by the nobility.[36]

Meyer's fundamental proposition, that "clan organization is . . . the expression and bearer of control by the nobility," is accepted by a host of writers, including some who differ from him in their handling of the crucial pieces of evidence. Thus Busolt says

> . . . families that were bound in close relationship formed a band of blood kin, the *anchisteia*. Gradually there arose, in conjunction with economic and social development and the greater prominence of rich and respected families, alongside of the bands of blood kin, more close-knit clan organizations in which the nobles shut themselves off and set themselves apart from the commoners.[37]

Ferguson says

> the clans are aggregates of men who through the acquisition of large estates have achieved for themselves, at the same time with economic pre-eminence, social, political, military, and religious distinction which they seek to preserve by organization, the fiction of a common descent, and the formation in this way of exclusive ideal groups.[38]

DeSanctis gives a similar analysis.[39] Francotte, Wilamowitz, Dahms, and Wil-

36 Eduard Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* (Halle, 1899), vol. 2, pp. 517-518.
37 BS, vol. 2, p. 955.
38 Ferguson, *The Athenian Phratries* (Classical Quarterly, vol. 4, 1910), p. 262.
39 DeSanctis, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-67.

brandt, though their picture of the structure of early Attic society is, as we shall see, slightly different from Meyer's, agree that in earliest Athens the clan was an organization to which the Eupatrids had exclusive access.

Before proceeding to detailed questions of evidence, it is worthwhile considering what the relation is between this view of the clan and Glotz's (as noted, the modern writer most like Morgan), with which we contrast it. Obviously the two views stand in sharp antithesis. Glotz begins the analytical part of his *The Greek City* as follows:

> The first Greeks to arrive in Greece . . . were semi-nomadic shepherds from the Balkan peninsula. Since they had spent their lives wandering with their flocks over the plains and through the mountain forests, they had never formed a state. The unit of organization was the patriarchal clan, to which the name of *patria*, or more often *genos*, was given, and whose members were all descendants of the same ancestor and worshippers of the same god.[40]

The clan is the basic unit of organization for the whole body of the Greeks. At first sight Glotz and Meyer seem to contradict each other diametrically. This is, however, strictly speaking not so. It is important to realize that they are talking about different periods in Greek social history. Meyer is speaking of a period in which (1) the city-state, and (2) marked social differentiation exist. Glotz (whether justifiably or not) feels it necessary to take as his starting point a period essentially defined as one in which those two features are absent. As a matter of fact, Glotz agrees with Meyer that in the period characterized by the formation of the city-state and the rise of social differentiation the clan was identified with the Eupatrids; he holds that certain factors led to the clan's ceasing to be the universal kinship organization, and perpetuating itself only in the form of groups of the privileged nobility. (We shall show that there are reasons for believing that even in this period the clan was not exclusively Eupatrid; this, however, is irrelevant at this point.) In other words, Glotz and Meyer do not differ in their presentation of the role of the clan at the beginning of Attic history; they differ in that Glotz asserts, and Meyer denies, that the clan had a prehistory in which its role was a different one.

IV

The main arguments—to continue the statement of Meyer's position—are as follows: (1) The lower classes (peasants, craftsmen, and day-laborers), because of their social position, were not able to put into practice in the blood-feud, inheritance-law, and political life, the solidarity of the family to the extent of

40 GC, pp. 5-6.

maintaining contact with so wide a group as the clan.[41] (2) It is characteristic of a clan that its members claimed descent from a particular (named) god or hero; this distinguishes them from the mass of the Athenians who claimed descent from the general national god, the Ancestral Apollo (*Apollo Patroos*). Membership in a clan therefore implied distinction of ancestry, which is the hallmark of the Eupatrids.[42] (3) It is admitted by all that the Greeks in general, and Aristotle in particular, held the view that the clan was in origin a universal and all-inclusive kinship organization. Meyer offers an explanation of how this (for him, mistaken) view arose. He says that the mentality of the age—i.e. the mentality of the élite—is so deeply impressed with the institution of the clan that it cannot conceive of human society otherwise than as composed of clans; hence arose a tendency to divide the whole political community, without residue, into clans. This actually was put into practice in Rome and some Greek cities (though not Athens), and is reflected in Aristotle's schema in which he divides the whole people of early Athens into tribes composed of phratries composed of clans.[43]

As to the first of these arguments, it is noteworthy that it does not lay the basis for an exclusion of the non-Eupatrids as such and in principle from the clan. In fact, Meyer goes on to say that non-Eupatrids were in certain situations treated *de facto* as if they belonged to a clan:

> For them the fiction sufficed that if they at least had landed property and belonged to a phratry (the latter controlled the blood-feud and rights of inheritance), they also descended from a clan even though no one knew its name and genealogy.[44]

Meyer says this, apart from the general principle explicitly stated, in deference to the generally admitted fact that the phratry was an all-inclusive kinship organization, which is known to have played a role in inheritance law and the blood-feud; he implies that the subdivisions of the phratry, to which the non-Eupatrids belonged, were *de facto* clans. To the question as to whether this is a necessary assumption we shall return later. Meanwhile it should be noted that this admission of Meyer's seems to negate the principle that only Eupatrids belonged to the clan, substituting instead the principle that only the Eupatrids belonged to a *named* clan, while non-Eupatrids belonged to a group that for practical purposes, though on a limited scale, acted *as if* it were a clan. This is a rather formalistic distinction.

Meyer's second argument will be considered in relation to the views of Busolt, a follower of Meyer, who proposes an important correction.

41 Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 517-518.
42 *Idem*, pp. 520-528.
43 *Idem*, pp. 518-520.
44 *Idem*, pp. 519-520.

Meyer's third argument focuses attention on what must be a crucial difficulty for those who hold that the clan was a Eupatrid organization; namely, how to explain why Aristotle, our leading ancient authority on Greek political antiquities, thought that the clan was in origin a universal kinship organization. With characteristic honesty, Meyer recognizes that the fact that Aristotle presents this view in the form of an arithmetical schema (30 men to a clan, 30 clans to a phratry, 3 phratries to a tribe, 4 tribes) does not mean that his view does not need explaining. If it is possible to comment on Meyer's explanation without going into the analogy with the Roman *gentes* which he adduces, one must say that the explanation does not have inherent plausibility; for if the clan is "the expression and bearer of control by the nobility," *why is it so "natural" for the nobility to think of commoners as constituting clans?* [45]

V

We proceed to consider additional arguments for the view that the clan is in origin an exclusively Eupatrid organization, a view adduced by two scholars who follow Meyer closely, Ferguson and Busolt. Ferguson's most weighty arguments are:

(1) Only one-quarter of the Athenians were clansmen: if originally all Athenians were clansmen, then three-quarters of the Athenians were immigrants.[46] To which it must be answered that there is another possible explanation, other than the admitted factor of immigrants acquiring citizenship; namely, the principle asserted by Glotz, that with increasing individualism and increasing social differentiation clan structure atrophied and tended to be perpetuated only in the circles of the aristocracy.[47]

(2) The property of the different members of a clan was widely scattered over the whole of Attica at the time of Cleisthenes. Ferguson argues that this can only be explained on the hypothesis that the clan was a late and artificial institution formed on the basis of political and social ties between different noble families among whom there was no genuine kinship bond.[48] In criticism of this argument it may be urged that we have little warrant for assuming a general stability in land-tenure in the centuries which preceded Cleisthenes. Three possible factors making for instability suggest themselves: (1) the process of engrossing the land

45 Cf. the criticism of Meyer by D. P. Costello, *Notes on the Athenian GENE* (Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. 58), p. 173, note 18.

46 Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

47 GS, pp. 3-18.

48 Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-281.

which attended the ascent to power of the aristocracy; (2) the redistribution of land, credited to the Peisistratid tyrants of Athens, in favor of the poor peasants; and (3) the mobility (though restricted) in land property established by Solon. Furthermore, we have good evidence, going back to the origin of the clan, for a connection between particular clans and a particular locality in Attica. This is the fact that certain clans have the same name as certain localities,[49] a fact which no doubt provoked Aristotle to make a general statement connecting the clan group with the village community.[50] It is therefore necessary to explain not only the attested dispersion (which can be explained by external factors) but also the local foci. In fact, Ferguson seems to have withdrawn this argument of his in a later paper dealing primarily with the phratry group; but it is easy to see that his argument applies also to the clan. He says there:

> Our evidence that the phratries, and their subdivisions, the *thiasoi* [or "fellow-celebrants"] had local foci with some distribution of members to points considerable distances away carries us no farther back than 508 BC. In retrojecting from that point to the seventh century or beyond we have as our basis the fact that Kleisthenes left the phratries undisturbed, but we cannot ignore the consideration that the ancestors of what were groups of somewhat scattered people in 508 BC may have lived compactly in specified localities at an earlier epoch. . . . It is thus easier to explain the attested dispersion of members of particular phratries than their local foci. We therefore conclude that they were kin-groups, more compactly centered locally in early than in historic times.[51]

(3) Ferguson contrasts the title of the "ruler" or chief magistrate of the Athenian clan (*archon*) and the phratry (*phratriarch*) with the title of the chief magistrate of the tribe (*phylobasileus*, or chief of the tribe) and infers from this evidence that the tribe belongs to the regal, and the clan and phratry to the post-regal period of Athenian history.[52] To which it must be answered that the role of the phratry in Homer is such that it should be regarded (as for example Busolt and DeSanctis regard it[53]) as being of prehistoric antiquity; in which case the title of *archon* ceases to be evidence for a late origin. It might also be said that *if*

49 BS, vol. 2, p. 955: "Einige . . . (Geschlechter) nannten sich nach dem Orte ihres Stammsitzes. In anderen Fällen war umgekehrt der Name des Geschlechts auf den Ort übergegangen." Cf. DeSanctis, *op. cit.*, p. 62: "Non v'ha dubbio che in origine la proprietà fondiaria della famiglie che facevano parte di una gente si trovava in un medesimo distretto. Di che alcuni demi attici presero nome da genti."

50 Aristotle, *Politics*, I, 2, 5 and III, 9, 12.

51 Ferguson, "The Athenian Law Code and the Old Attic Trittyes" (in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, Princeton, 1936), p. 257.

52 Ferguson, *The Athenian Phratries*, p. 278.

53 BS, vol. 1, p. 250: "Weit älter als die korporativ geschlossenen Geschlechter waren die Phratrien," etc.; DeSanctis, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-45.

the clan were in origin *not* a Eupatrid institution, there would be good reason for the distinction in title between the clan and the tribe, for the chiefs or "kings" of the four tribes would necessarily be exalted personages, which the leaders of the clans may not have been. It was at all times the rule that the chiefs of the tribes had to be Eupatrids,[54] i.e. nobles.

(4) In a recently published study of the affairs of the clan of the Salaminioi, as known to us from inscriptions, Ferguson reaches conclusions which he would regard as confirming his general view of the origin of the clan.[55] He shows reasons for holding that (a) "the Salaminioi as an organization so named cannot antedate the opening of the struggle between Athens and Megara for Salamis," i.e. the second half of the seventh century; [56] (b) the clan was formed by the merger of two groups of families, each residing in different parts of Attica, between whom there was no real bond of kin;[57] (c) the bond leading to the formation of the clan was common political interest in acquiring Salamis for Athens.[58] One might question the details of Ferguson's reconstruction. It might be asked, for example, whether it is not possible that the clan is older than its name; also whether the absence of any indication of kinship between the component families in the clan in the fourth century is a valid ground for asserting that there never had been any kinship bond; and finally, whether it might be possible to entertain a different hypothesis as to the history of the clan of the Salaminioi. But even accepting Ferguson's interpretation in detail, surely it is not only possible but also necessary to argue that we do not have here a typical case of clan formation; for according to that interpretation, the purpose for which the clan was formed was to strengthen Athenian claims to Salamis by setting up a group which claimed descent from a Salaminian hero. But this purpose would only be advanced if there was at this time a general belief that the clan was not an artificial but a genuine kinship group; *forgeries would be worthless if there was no good currency.*

VI

We now turn to the last member of the group of three—Meyer, Ferguson, Busolt—who, in spite of minor differences, give essentially the same interpretation of the clan. Busolt gives the following arguments that have not been mentioned before:

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54 Pollux, *Onomastikon,* VIII, 111; BS, vol. 2, p. 770 and note 2.
55 Ferguson, *The Salaminioi,* pp. 1-74.
56 *Idem,* p. 42.
57 *Idem,* pp. 23, 43, 45.
58 *Idem,* p. 44.

(1) The known genealogies of clans do not go back earlier than the ninth century BC, that is to say, to the period of the rise of the landed aristocracy.[59] To make historical inferences from the genealogies of pre-literate or semi-literate peoples is notoriously risky. The fact of the matter seems to be that Greek genealogizing took as its starting point the "heroic age"; this was placed at the end of the second millenium BC. So it may be said that not only clan traditions, but *all Greek traditions go back only so far*.[60] Busolt's argument therefore has little weight.

(2) It is the family in the narrow sense, not the clan, that is recognized in inheritance law, the blood-feuds, and the cult of the dead.[61] This is perhaps the most important argument in favor of the view that the clan was not a universal kinship organization. Yet as stated, it must be said that in one respect the fact may be conceded by those who hold that the clan was originally a universal kinship organization, and in one respect they can argue that it begs the question. It may be conceded, because, as previously stated, in the historical period (to which the argument refers) it is universally admitted that the family in the narrow sense, not the clan, is the primary social grouping; the question is whether there was a prehistoric period when things were different. It begs the question, because it ignores the particular arguments which have been made for the presence of indications that the clan does have a prehistory. If the reader will refer to the previous analysis of Meyer's theories, he will see that Meyer held that the clan did play a role in inheritance law and the blood-feud. We might show by an example how ambiguous the evidence is. Busolt (and Ferguson) point out that the clan does not figure in Draco's laws on homicide, which place responsibility for vengeance on the immediate family in the first instance, and on the phratry, represented by ten Eupatrid members, in the second instance, "whereas," says Ferguson, "they . . . [the clansmen] should have been chiefly concerned and concerned as an organization, had they been once the sole protectors of human life."[62] The hypothesis has been put forward[63] that the reason why the clan is not mentioned, but ten Eupatrids chosen from the phratry, is that the legislator wanted to place responsibility, in default of immediate family, in the hands of Eupatrids, the experts in holy and profane law, *and there not necessarily being Eupatrids in the*

59 BS, vol. 1, p. 249 and note 3.

60 See also the discussion of the genealogies by Costello, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175. He argues that "another indication of this genuineness is the obscurity, remarked by Toepffer, of the traditional ancestors of the phratries and *gene*" (p. 175); most of the genealogies defy analysis.

61 BS, vol. 1, p. 250, note 1.

62 Ferguson, *The Athenian Phratries*, pp. 261-262.

63 Wilbrandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153.

clan, he had to omit the clan and transfer the matter to the wider phratry grouping. This hypothesis is, of course, part of a theory according to which, at the time of Draco, the clan was not an exclusively Eupatrid organization, but on the contrary covered all citizens. And surely Glotz has shown, in *La Solidarité,* how much of the known phenomena *can* be explained on the hypothesis of an originally primary clan yielding place to a subsequently primary individual family.

(3) Busolt is also noteworthy for making a revision in the premises of the argument on which Meyer laid great stress, the contrast between the individual heroic genealogies of the clans and the common national god of the plain folk. Busolt includes, as one of the differentiæ of the clan, the fact that "all clans celebrated the rituals of the Oath-Guarding Zeus and the Ancestral Apollo."[64] We shall return to this problem later: here it is sufficient to point out that *Busolt's statement takes the ground away from Meyer's distinction of the clan from the commoners.* According to Busolt, the celebrating of the rituals of the Ancestral Apollo was originally the prerogative of the "noble clans." Since we know that in classical times the celebrating of these rituals was the general right of all Athenian citizens as such, he has to posit an extension of the right from the aristocracy to the commonalty. Moreover, since it was a requirement of every candidate for the office of archon that he should have the right to celebrate these rituals, Busolt has to date this extension of the right to coincide with the abolition of the Eupatrid monopoly of the archonship, i.e. at least as early as Solon.

In this survey we have tried to consider all the arguments which have been made by Meyer, Ferguson, and Busolt in favor of the identification of the clan with the aristocracy. We submit that the identification emerges as a possible one (no decisive objection to it has been made) but not a necessary one (no argument in its favor has been found decisive).

VII

We turn now to a second type of theory, which is identified with the names of Wilamowitz,[65] Dahms,[66] and Wilbrandt.[67] These theorists also hold that originally only Eupatrids were in the clan. Their theory differs from the first in positing the later emergence (but before the time of Draco) of non-Eupatrid or "plebeian" clans. Thus it arrives, by a curious twist, at positing as a seventh

64 BS, vol. 2, p. 956.

65 Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristoteles und Athen* (Berlin, 1893), vol. 2, pp. 57-59.

66 Dahms, art. "Geschlechter" (in Pauly-Wissowa, *Enzyklopädisches Wörterbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften,* vol. 7, pt. 2, Nachträge, pp. 2667-2670).

67 Wilbrandt, *op. cit.,* pp. 133-228, esp. pp. 136-157.

century development what to Glotz was the aboriginal state of affairs; namely, the inclusion of all Athenians in clans. This position is reached by the following arguments:

(1) Since the right to celebrate the rituals of Ancestral Apollo was necessary to a candidate for archonship, and since in the "nobles' state" the archonship was restricted to Eupatrids, originally the right was restricted to Eupatrids; but the celebration of these rituals was characteristically a practice of the clans, therefore originally the clans were restricted to Eupatrids. (2) The original subgroup of which the phratry was composed was the clan; but we know that in the time of Draco there were non-Eupatrids in the phratries; therefore we must posit a change in the set-up, consisting in the establishment, or recognition as authorized groupings in the phratry, of non-Eupatrid clans. (3) This is confirmed *a posteriori* by the existence of a number of names of clans which indicate hereditary pursuit of a craft, and therefore indicate that these clans belonged to the order of craftsmen (*demiourgoi*) as opposed to Eupatrids.

This theory as a whole may be safely rejected. It wrecks itself against two main considerations, one *a priori*, the other *a posteriori*. *A priori*, Athenian social development up to the time of Solon is reduced to nonsense if we have to posit the recognition of the supposed non-Eupatrid clans as a recent development dated to before Draco. Dahms himself accurately realizes the social implications of such a development; he calls it the achievement, after "long struggles," of "political equality" by the lower orders. To posit such an egalitarian achievement before Draco (one of which we have, needless to say, no testimony) makes utter nonsense of both Draco's and Solon's work, and yet a moment's reflection will show that such an assumption is the very heart and soul of the theory. *A posteriori*, the evidence of Homer makes it absolutely inadmissible to posit phratries as originally restricted to Eupatrids.

On the other hand, the theory introduces something very important in drawing attention to the group of clan-names which have connotations of various crafts. The assumption of clans composed of craftsmen, if correct, would be fatal to the Meyer-Ferguson-Busolt view. Busolt attacks the assumption;[68] on the whole, it seems to me, the assumption comes through unscathed. Busolt's main attack is levelled against Wilamowitz' definition of these clans as "guilds become clans"; he rightly objects that it is an anachronism to speak of guilds in this period. But hereditary familial pursuit of a craft is a perfectly regular feature of this period; why not therefore a clan devoted to a particular craft? No doubt Wilamowitz

68 BS, vol. 2, p. 955, note 5.

was deterred from speaking so because of his view that non-Eupatrid clans were late emergents which developed out of something other than clans (guilds). Let us then tentatively substitute the general assumption that from the beginning there were clans of craftsmen as well as of nobles. It thus appears that the Wilamowitz-Dahms theory has brought the first bit of positive evidence against the premise which they share with Meyer *et al.;* namely, the premise of originally exclusively Eupatrid clans.

VIII

The third and last type of theory concerning the clan is that identified with the names of Francotte[69] and Glotz. If Glotz in *La Solidarité* is compared with Glotz in his *Historie grecque* (with Robert Cohen), an apparent contradiction is seen. In the first book he develops the hypothesis of the clan as a universal kinship organization; in the second, when describing the social situation in early Attica when the people were divided into the three orders of the Eupatrids, the craftsmen, and the peasants, he finds that at that period not only the clan but also the phratry are restricted to the Eupatrids.[70] These two positions are reconciled by broadly identifying the craftsmen and peasants with the "honorless" or "unhonored" (*atimoi*) of Homer, i.e. those who were outside of the clan and therefore "beyond the pale" of Homeric society.[71] Thus the historical heirs of the primitive clan are the Eupatrids of early Attic history, and Glotz thus starts early Attic history with the same premise as both Meyer, etc. and Wilamowitz, etc.; namely, that the clan is exclusively Eupatrid. Francotte and Glotz differ from Meyer and agree with Dahms that the phratry was originally Eupatrid; they differ from Dahms and agree with Meyer that there never were any but Eupatrid clans; they posit an admission of the non-Eupatrid groups to the phratry (not, as Dahms, to the clan also) some time before Draco; they hold that they were admitted in sub-groups of a special kind called "fellow-celebrants" (*thiasoi*) and "rite-participants" (*orgeones*). At bottom this is equivalent to the same assumption of a decisive turn in the direction of egalitarianism in Athenian social history *before* Draco: for that reason it is to be rejected.

The most interesting idea developed by Francotte and Glotz is that in early Attica only the Eupatrids can be regarded as enjoying the equivalent of full citizen rights. To them the essence of citizenship is membership in the clan, phratry, and tribe; and these organizations, according to them, are restricted to

69 Henri Francotte, "La Polis grecque" (in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums,* ed. E. Drerup, vol. 1, pts. 3-4, Paderborn, 1907), pp. 10-38.

70 GH, vol. 1, pp. 390-395.

71 *Idem,* p. 395.

the Eupatrids.[72] They thus achieve what to the outsider might have seemed to be an impossibility, a reconciliation between the view that the clan is exclusively Eupatrid, and Aristotle's view that in earliest Athens all citizens were in clans. In the same way they reconcile the propositions that (1) the celebration of the rituals of Ancestral Apollo was a privilege of the (to them, Eupatrid) *clans*, and (2) the same privilege was possessed by all *citizens*. At the same time one cannot but ask oneself whether the achievement of these nice syntheses has not been correctly described by Meyer as resulting in

> . . . the monstrous notion . . . that there could have been a nobility without a contrasting mass of commoners, or . . . that the citizenry of Rome was ever composed exclusively of patricians, of Athens exclusively of Eupatrids.[73]

IX

After this survey of the leading theories about the Attic clan which have been held in this century, long after Morgan, one may well ask, "What then can we believe?" The need for a thorough reworking of the whole problem is evident. We believe that a beginning in the right direction has been made by two writers of the 1930's who have abandoned the common major premise of all the theories that have been so far considered, and have denied that membership in a clan was ever limited to the Eupatrids. These writers are Wade-Gery[74] and Costello.[75] Wade-Gery argues in favor of accepting Aristotle's view that Attic history begins with a situation in which there are clans, but no Eupatrids; since this situation determines the relations of the clan to the Eupatrids at a later date, it follows that there is no reason for the assumption that a member of a clan was necessarily a Eupatrid. Costello goes further, and argues in favor of accepting Aristotle's view that Attic history begins with a situation in which the whole body of the Athenian people are organized into clans. In what follows we attempt an argument in favor of the proposition made by Costello, drawing on the arguments made by Wade-Gery and Costello, but adding some arguments not made by them.

It was Wade-Gery's great contribution to have made clear exactly what Aristotle said about the clan. The essential point of Aristotle's view is that before the Eupatrids were separated out as a noble estate, the whole body of the Athenians was divided into clans, phratries, and tribes. This is in contradiction

72 Francotte, *op. cit.*, p. 10: ". . . l'État, c'est-à-dire les eupatrides, se divise en phylai, phratries, gené."

73 Meyer, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 520.

74 H. T. Wade-Gery, *Eupatridai, Archons, and Areopagus* (Classical Quarterly, vol. 25, 1931), pp. 1-11, 77-89.

75 Costello, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-179.

with all the views that we have discussed. Now Aristotle's views, as a fourth century BC observer, have very great weight; this is made pathetically obvious by the earnest attempts made by those who hold to the Eupatrid-clan assumption to find some way of fitting Aristotle into their scheme. Such are Francotte's hypothesis of citizenship limited to Eupatrids, Dahms' identification of the situation outlined by Aristotle with the situation consequent on his supposed creation of non-Eupatrid clans, and Busolt's feeble suggestion that by "clan" Aristotle did not mean clan in the technical sense, but only "family." [76]

All these are guilty of the self-stultifying procedure of implicitly recognizing Aristotle's authority while explicitly contradicting him. Meyer, characteristically, saw that his view was in contradiction with Aristotle's and undertook to explain why Arisotle should make the mistake; we argued that he did not succeed. The upshot of the matter is that Aristotle's judgment is initial evidence in favor of the propositions of Wade-Gery and Costello. In view of the fact both Eupatrids and clansmen were existent and recognizable groups in Aristotle's day, the burden of proof certainly rests on those who hold that Aristotle mistook the relation of these groups to one another.

With regard to the phratry, it may be taken as known [77] that it was an organ-

76 BG, vol. 2, p iii: "Diese Einteilung ist sicherlich eine künstliche antiquarische Konstruktion, die augenscheinlich darauf beruht, dass es zur Zeit ihrer Entstehung . . . im athenischen Staate etwas über zehntausend Hausstände gab."

77 The evidence on the phratries is to be found in Ferguson, *The Athenian Phratries*, pp. 257-283; *idem*, "The Athenian Law-Code and the Old Attic Trittyes," pp. 144-158; DeSanctis, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-48; BS, vol. 1, pp. 133, 250-256; vol. 2, pp. 958-963.

As noted, the composition of the phratries is of the utmost importance for our analysis. The earliest mention of groups of fellow-celebrants *(thiasoi)* and rite-participants *(orgeones)* is in a probably genuine quotation from the laws of Solon (see BS, vol. 1, p. 253, note).

A very important passage is a law quoted by Philochorus (BS, vol. 1, p. 252, note 2), which says that, as quoted later "the *phrateres* shall be compelled to admit both the *orgeones* and the *homogalaktes* whom we call *gennetai*." The date of this law is unknown; it comes from a part of Philochorus' history which deals with the second half of the fifth century (BS, vol. 1, p. 253, note); but since no one believes that there was a state-enacted reorganization of the phratry in that period, the natural assumption is that Philochorus is referring to an earlier arrangement. Most scholars seem to connect this with Cleisthenes (BS, vol. 1, p. 252; Costello, *loc. cit.*, etc.).

Something can be learned from it, however, quite apart from the date. It implies an attempt of the *gennetai* to exclude the *orgeones* from the phratry, i.e. from citizenship. *Homogalaktes* equals *gennetai*, and no one can doubt that it is the *gennetai* who want to keep the *orgeones* out, not vice versa. The passage therefore indicates that within the phratry the *orgeones* were an underprivileged or insecure grouping. But, for reasons given elsewhere, it is not a tenable supposition that the citizenship-status of the cadres of the original tribal society was threatened. Therefore we cannot identify the *orgeones* with any Homeric group, e.g., craftsmen (*demiourgoi*). Conversely, there is mention in Athenian constitutional history of "the newly enfranchised" (e.g., Cleisthenes' *neopolitai*, or new citizens, Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 21); hence it is with such groups that the *orgeones* should be identified. See also our notes 81 and 82.

ization to which from earliest times the whole people belonged. At the same time it appears to be regular for the "brothers" (*phrateres*) to belong to the phratry not as individuals, nor as individual households, but organized in sub-groups. In classical times there are three types of such component groups within the phratry: (1) the clan, (2) the fellow-celebrants *(thiasos)*, and (3) the rite-participants (*orgeones*). There are good grounds for holding that the fellow-celebrants and rite-participants are relatively late, at least as component groups within the phratry; there are therefore good grounds for holding (with Aristotle) that originally the clan was the only type of sub-group within the phratry. *It then follows, since the phratry was a universal organization, that the clan was a universal organization.*

The first premise of this argument, the universality of the phratry, rests on the following considerations. (1) The phratry is a universal organization in Homer; (2) Draco's laws on homicide likewise assume that everyone belongs to a phratry; (3) we must reject all theories which involve the hypothesis of an egalitarian extension of phratry membership, previously supposed reserved to Eupatrids, to commoners some time *before* Draco.

As to the second premise, that the clan was originally the only and the necessary sub-group within the phratry, we should note at the outset that it was precisely this proposition, combined with the proposition that the clan was exclusively Eupatrid, that led both the Dahms and the Francotte type of theorist to abandon our first premise, and restrict the phratry originally to Eupatrids. Thus we can stick to the direct evidence, and say with Meyer *et al.* that the phratry was universal, and with Dahms and Francotte that the original component group in the phratry was the clan, *only if we abandon the idea that the clan was exclusively Eupatrid.* Noteworthy, also, in this connection is Meyer's implicit admission that the original component group in the phratry was the clan; that was why he made the concession that the non-Eupatrids, in so far as they acted as members of a phratry, acted *as if* they belonged to a clan, i.e. belonged to *de facto* clans. This concession obviously weakens the whole theory of "noble houses" (*Adelsgeschlechter*), not only by reducing the distinction between *de jure* "noble houses" and *de facto* plebeian clans to a formal one, but also by inviting the question, "Why should not the plebeian clans have been *de jure* as well as *de facto?*"

X

The foregoing argument may be made clearer by showing that there are few if any ways of getting around it. Hence the following:

The known sub-groups in the phratry, as we said, fall into three types: clans,

fellow-celebrants, and rite-participants. It is obviously a theoretical possibility to maintain the universality of the phratry, and the exclusiveness of the clan, by the hypothesis that the non-Eupatrids were in the phratry in groups of fellow-celebrants or rite-participants. Less ingenious than Meyer, and more logically consistent, Ferguson and Busolt have taken this way out of the dilemma; Ferguson holding that the component group in the phratry, in which the non-Eupatrids were, was made up of the fellow-celebrants, and Busolt holding that it was the rite-participants.

Against the view that the non-Eupatrids belonged to the phratry in groups of either fellow-celebrants or rite-participants, it may be urged in the first place, that anyone whose theoretical presuppositions have not involved him in the hypothesis that these were the groups within the phratry to which the non-Eupatrids belonged, will incline to the view that both the fellow-celebrants and the rite-participants are groups of relatively late formation, or whose "constitutional" recognition is relatively late (by "relatively late" we mean so late that they cannot be regarded as the groups in which the non-Eupatrids were sub-grouped in the phratry). It is not without significance that Ferguson, who prefers the fellow-celebrants as the constituent group in the phratry, argues that the rite-paricipants are late,[78] while Busolt, who prefers the rite-participants, argues that the fellow-celebrant group was late.[79] The evidence, approached without theoretical prepossession, would indicate that Ferguson is right about the rite-participants, and Busolt is right about the fellow-celebrants! The *earliest* mention of both is in a law of Solon, recognizing their right to regulate their internal affairs.[80] Furthermore, we know that the rite-participants were a group whose affiliation with the phratry might be called in question; we have a fragment of early Athenian law which enacts that "the phrateres shall be compelled to admit both the rite-participants *(orgeones)* and the 'milk-sharers' or 'milk-brothers' *(homo-galaktes)* whom we call clansmen *(gennetai)*."[81] There is no doubt that it is the rite-participants and not the milk-sharers whose status is threatened. If the rite-participants are taken to be the group within the phratry to which the native Athenian of non-Eupatrid status belonged, it is necessary to assume that at some later date their membership in the phratry was called in question. Since membership in a phratry was, at least up to the time of Cleisthenes, the equivalent of citizenship, we would have to say that the citizenship of native Athenians of

78 Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-263.
79 BS, vol. 1, p. 253.
80 Quoted and discussed in BS, vol. 1, p. 252, note 2.
81 Cf. BS, *loc. cit.* See also our note 77.

non-Eupatrid origin was called in question. The assumption that the citizenship of native Athenian stock was ever called in question (apart from palpable irregularities in birth) not only lacks any external confirmation, but is *per se* an assumption that does not fit into the known social situation at any period of Athenian history earlier than the period of oligarchic reaction at the end of the fifth century BC. We must therefore distinguish the native Athenians, who in early Attic history belonged to the non-Eupatrid orders of craftsmen and peasants, from the rite-participants and fellow-celebrants, and find a different social composition for the latter.

This is not hard to find. It is generally recognized that the fellow-celebrants and rite-participants represent groups of families united by a bond which was not a kinship bond, but might be religious, professional, geographical, or a combination of these. It is generally recognized that they were recruited from those who found themselves outside of the concentric circles of the universal kinship (or quasi-kinship) system which covered the whole body of people in a Greek city-state in the earliest period. Their exclusion might have originated in loss of status which resulted in being "unhonored," or in being of immigrant stock. Immigrants often became "resident aliens," i.e. metics. On occasion people of metic status gained admission to citizenship, and therefore to the phratries. Their condition might continue to be precarious. There is much to be said for the view that the law guaranteeing the position of the rite-participants in the phratry was passed in connection with an enfranchisement of metics at the time of Cleisthenes.[82]

Glotz [83] and Francotte,[84] it is true, espoused the view that the craftsmen and peasants of early Attic history were composed of just these elements; namely, outsiders, immigrants, and ex-members of the kinship system. We have already stated the objections to this: the conception of an aristocratic society without any non-aristocratic members, and the inadmissible hypothesis of an extension of citizenship status before Draco.

XI

Having considered ways to get around the argument, and their futility, we thus arrive once more at the conclusion that since the phratry was universal, and since the only original grouping in the phratry was the clan, the clan was originally universal. This corresponds entirely to the results of Glotz's analysis of the social organization of the embryo city-state as seen in Homer. In his paper on *La Marine et la cité de l'épopée à l'histoire,* Glotz showed that in Homer the lower

82 BG, vol. 2, p. 429; Costello *op. cit.* See also our note 77.
83 GH, vol. 1, p. 395.
84 Francotte, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

orders are integrated into the general kinship system which in the *Greek City* he says consists of clans, phratries, and tribes.[85] In his *Histoire grecque*, operating with the conception of the clan in Attica as exclusively Eupatrid, he has to get the craftsmen out of the kinship system, and then in again before Draco. At the same time, remembering (as shown by a footnote) his previous study, he tries to reconcile the two positions by placing the craftsmen and peasants, not in the phratries (where at the very least his earlier paper had proved they should be) but "distributed individually in the tribes."

Such is the Procrustean bed that all those who insist that the clan was exclusively Eupatrid prepare for themselves. Liberating ourselves from this fetish, we are able to say that as in Homer, so in earliest Attica the whole people belonged to both the phratry and the clan; that the polarization of society into Eupatrids and non-Eupatrids is a process which takes place, not by the accretion of a body which lies outside the kinship system and forms the non-Eupatrids, but by a fissure occurring within the kinship system itself (as Aristotle held); and that the rite-participants admitted to the phratry do represent the assimilation of such an accretion of original outsiders.

The right to practice the ceremonies (possession of the *cultus*) of the Ancestral Apollo (*Apollo Patroos*) has important bearing on the subject we are discussing; the reader can see that for himself by observing how it is covered in every type of theory of the clan with which we have dealt. The contradictory conclusions drawn from the evidence are nothing less than bewildering. Meyer regarded the *cultus* as the hallmark of the mass of the non-noble Athenians as opposed to the "noble houses" (*Adelsgeschlechter*); Busolt holds that the *cultus* was originally the property of the "noble houses" but was extended to the common people some time before Solon, etc.

The facts of the matter are quite simple: (1) possession of the *cultus* was regarded as the equivalent of being an Athenian citizen;[86] (2) possession of the *cultus* was regarded as characteristic of the clan.[87] If even in as complex a subject as this the simplest hypothesis is to be preferred, then one must say that Francotte is right in saying that the facts point to an original situation in which all citizens were in the clans.[88] Francotte, of course, then proceeded to tie the matter in a knot again with his special theory that only the Eupatrids were citizens in the period of what the Germans call the "nobles' state" (*Adelsstaat* or *Gesch-*

85 Glotz, "La Marine et la cité de l'épopée à l'histoire" (in *Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque*, Paris, 1906), pp. 229-253, esp. 239-243.

86 Most forcibly stated by Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 520-528.

87 As recognized in BS, vol. 2, p. 256 and note 1; also by Wilbrandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-144.

88 Francotte, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

lecherstaat). But the hypothesis is substantiated not only by its simplicity, but also by the insuperable difficulties involved in all the alternatives. Meyer ignores the evidence for a connection between the *cultus* and the clans; all the others, who recognize a connection between the *cultus* and what they believe to be "noble houses" ignore: (a) the evidence, amply developed by Meyer, that the *cultus* of Ancestral Apollo is inherently ethnic or "national," not a hallmark of the privileged distinction of the nobility; (b) the inadmissibility of positing an extension of the *cultus* from the Eupatrids to the non-Eupatrids, because (on their definitions) this would be equivalent to the *ennobling* of the non-Eupatrids, and it would have to be placed no later than Solon. The idea that at the beginning of the sixth century BC the common people could be given equality in pedigree with the nobility by legislative fiat is absurd.

At the same time, it seems that Ferguson's theory should be accepted, i.e. that in the fifth century BC the *cultus* was largely associated with the individual "household family" (*oikos*) rather than with the clan.[89] This situation would be the natural result of the failure of the clans to include, as they once did, all Athenians. As the individual household took the place of the clan as the basic element in the city-state, the *cultus* tended to shift from the clan to the household family.

XII

Let us now review certain other arguments for the existence of non-Eupatrid clans; obviously, this is crucial to the whole discussion.

First, whether we reckon with Aristotle's figures (360, 30 in a clan) or with the inscriptional indications (Ferguson reckons with about ninety clans and about one hundred in a clan), we arrive at a number that seems incredibly large for just the aristocracy of early Attica.[90]

Second, it is often said that within the phratry a privileged position is occupied by a clan, this privileged position being related to the privileges of the nobles; this is then related to the general hypothesis of the Eupatrid nature of the clan.[91] However, if we bear in mind the number of the Attic clans (the most skeptical

89 Ferguson, *The Salaminioi*, pp. 31-32.

90 Cf. BG, vol. 2, p. 112, note, where he argues against the trustworthiness of Aristotle *because* on his (Busolt's) definition of clansman = Eupatrid, it gives an absurdly high number of Eupatrids: "Fasst man *gennetai* im eigentlichen Sinne als Angehörige der *gene* auf, so kann natürlich von 10,800 *gennetai* nicht die Rede sein." One would think that it should have been obvious to Aristotle also.

91 Cf. BS, vol. 2, p. 959; also Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1937), vol. 3, pp. 283-286.

analysis admits about fifty) and the number of the phratries (twelve, or about twelve), it is obvious that all the Attic clans could not have a privileged position in the phratries. Thus the evidence actually points to the conclusion that some clans had privileges because they were Eupatrid, while others did not, presumably because they were non-Eupatrid.[92]

Third, and closely related to the last argument, it has been held that the exclusive possession of the priesthood in certain state *cultus* ceremonials by certain clans is a survival of Eupatrid privilege in religious matters.[93] But to begin with, it is only a fraction of the known clans which can be shown to have had such privileges. Again, it seems theoretically impossible to find enough *cultus* ceremonials to supply all the clans with the privilege. Further, although most of the state *cultus* ceremonials were presumably instituted in the period of the social hegemony of the Eupatrids, and one would therefore expect to find privileges reserved for Eupatrid clans, yet on the other hand certain ceremonials were instituted under auspices that were non-Eupatrid or even anti-Eupatrid. *A priori,* one would not be at all surprised to find that in such ceremonials (for example the Dionysus *cultus,* developed by Peisistratus) the privileges went to non-Eupatrids. We shall argue, when we come to consider whether there are specific clans which should be regarded as non-Eupatrid, that this is in fact the case.

Fourth, in the late grammarians there are definite traces of a distinction between clans that is probably a distinction between Eupatrid and non-Eupatrid clans. Some are called "of upright born" (*gene ithagenon*); some are called "undistinguished" (*gene adoxa*), a very curious adjective to apply to any of the "noble houses"![94] Another distinction is between those that were regarded as "autochthonous" and those that were not; we are told that "the Eupatrids were autochthonous, so that all Eupatrids were 'well-born' *(eugeneis),* but not all the

92 It is obvious that if we reject the equation of Eupatrid and clansman, then it becomes a question of whether a clan was *en bloc* either Eupatrid or non-Eupatrid, or whether in a given clan some might be Eupatrid and some not. H. T. Wade-Gery (*Studies in the Structure of Attic Society,* Classical Quarterly, vol. 25, 1931, p. 130) leaves the question unanswered; Costello (*op. cit.,* p. 176) holds that the Eupatrids were the *chiefs* of the clan. In what follows it is assumed that a clan, as a whole, is either Eupatrid or not. The justification for this assumption, in addition to the evidence about to be adduced for a distinction between clans, is Hellanikos, frag. 170 (Felix Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* Berlin, 1923-30) and Xenophon, *Symposium,* VIII, 40. In both of these passages it seems to be implied that a man's possession of Eupatrid status is derived from his membership in a particular (Eupatrid) clan.

93 E.g., DeSanctis, *op. cit.,* pp. 61-62.

94 Examples of *gene adoxa* are the Titakidai and Thyrgonidai; cf. Toepffer, *op. cit.,* p. 291. The distinction is given full value by Wilbrandt, *op. cit.,* p. 155.

'well-born' were Eupatrids."[95] (Here I take "well-born" to be the equivalent of "members of an ancient clan.")

Fifth, it is clear that the whole theory of "noble houses" *(Adelsgeschlechter)* collapses if *one single clan* can be shown to be non-Eupatrid. We point to the following *clans* as those which should be regarded as non-Eupatrid:

(a) The Lykomidai, to which Themistocles belonged.[96] As a personality type, Themistocles is known as an excellent specimen of the *parvenu* and the marginal man; his mother was an alien (Thracian) *hetaira* who became a concubine; her son had to be legitimatized by his father. We are specifically told that, as far as his clan was concerned, Themistocles was "undistinguished."[97] Furthermore, the *cultus* ceremonials with which the Lykomidai were connected definitely belong to the non-Eupatrid type referred to above.[98] The Lykomidai were prominent in the ceremonials of Phlya, a deme which was a center of the *cultus* of Dionysus; Themistocles himself was an enthusiast for that *cultus*. The Lykomidai were also the guardians of certain Orphic "holy writs"; it would generally be held that it is an essential characteristic of the Orphic religion that it was propagated by non-Eupatrid strata.

(b) The Hesychidai, of which we are told that "the Eupatrids did not participate in" a certain ritual performed by the Hesychidai.[99] This passage induced the holders of the "noble houses" theory to invoke into being a particular clan called the Eupatrids in addition to the status-group of the Eupatrids! Wade-Gery has shown that the "clan of the Eupatrids" is purely imaginary, and has also pointed out how the nature of the ritual involved makes it perfectly understandable why the Eupatrid status-group should be excluded from it.[100] It follows, of course, that the Hesychidai were non-Eupatrid.

(c) The Euneidai and Krokonidai.[101] Both these clans had priestly functions in the *cultus* of Dionysus. The Euneidai are described as a clan of lyre-players and dancers; these professions are hardly suitable for Eupatrids. The *cultus* with which they are connected is that of Dionysus Melpomenos ("Lord of song"),

95 Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electra*, 25, for the notion of Eupatrids as autochthonous; cf. Demosthenes, *Against Neaira*, 75.

96 Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 1.

97 *Ibid.*

98 On the *cultus* practices of the Lykomidai, cf. Toepffer, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 208-225. On the Lykomidai as a non-Eupatrid clan, see Costello, *op. cit.*, p. 173, note 13.

99 By Polemon, quoted by Scholiast on Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, p. 435.

100 Wade-Gery, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-85. His argument is supported by Costello, *op. cit.*, p. 171, note 4.

101 On the Euneidai, cf. Toepffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-206; on the Krokonidai, *idem*, pp. 101-104.

which may well be the cult instituted or elaborated by Peisistratus. The Krokonidai, we are told, were the "wine-overseers" (*oinoptai*) at some Dionysiac festival. The comedian Eupolis, lamenting the fact that in his day the Athenians no longer elected their generals from the best families, says, "O city, city, now you elect as generals men who previously you would not have to tolerated even as *oinoptai*";[102] it seems clear that being a wine-overseer implied ignoble birth.

(d) We should also refer again to the clans to the names of which Wilamowitz drew attention as indicating hereditary pursuit of a craft, and therefore as indicating that they belonged to the craftsmen or peasants rather than the Eupatrids.

It is true that it has been denied that some, at least, of these names are names of clans. They are known to us only as names of the locality groups called demes; from their patronymic form it is clear that the deme was named after the group of people residing there, and that this group was united by a (real or fictitious) kinship bond. Since this kinship bond, uniting a whole village, must have passed beyond the limits of the immediate family, and must in fact have corresponded to a clan, it seems that only prejudice (in favor of "noble houses") can deny them the name of clans, particularly in view of Aristotle's identification of the village community with the clan, and of the existence of other cases where deme and clan certainly do have the same name. These clans are the Aithalidai (connected with forging), Daidalidai (connected with metal-work), Eupuridai (connected with fire, i.e. forging), and Iphistiadai (connected with the art of Hephaestus, the smith). In addition there are others which are *explicitly* stated to be clans, such as the Poimenidai (shepherds), Phreoruchoi (well-diggers), Aigeirotomoi (tree-cutters), and Chalkidai (bronze- and copper-workers). No doubt a special theory might be devised to explain why "noble houses" might have some of these names; for that reason we here regard them as an indication, rather than a proof, of the existence of non-Eupatrid clans, but taken all together, they can hardly be denied some weight.

(e) Of less weight, naturally, but still important, is the existence of non-Eupatrid clans outside Attica.

We have *certain* evidence that in Crete, Kalymna, Olymos, and Thasos the clan was *not* a Eupatrid group.[103] It must be conceded, in view of the differences in social structure between different Greek city-states, that we cannot argue that therefore it must have been so in Attica also. That it does have a certain weight,

102 Eupolis, in August Meineke, *Fragmenta comicorum graecorum* (Berlin, 1839-1857), vol. 2, p. 510; cf. p. 486.

103 Costello, *op. cit.*, p. 176, note 34, and p. 173.

in view of the general Greek nature of the clan, is shown by Meyer's attempt to explain these phenomena as resulting from an extension of what were originally "noble houses" to include the whole people.[104] Costello rightly points out the unsatisfactory nature of the hypothesis that the nobility shared with the commons "the hallmark of nobility" *(das Kennzeichen des Adels)*;[105] the Eupatrids remained a distinct and distinguishable group even in egalitarian ("democratic") states.

XIII

It is submitted, in conclusion, that Attic history begins with a period in which the whole people is organized in clans, and that, though in time the perpetuation of the clan tended to be limited to the Eupatrids, and the "household family" (*oikos*) supplanted the clan as the basic unit of Attic society, yet there remain clear traces of the organization of people of craftsman status in clans, as well as some other non-Eupatrid clans which owed their survival to the fact that they acquired a priestly function.

This conclusion by itself does not validate all the attributes ascribed by Glotz to the clan in the period of its universality and supremacy; *it only establishes the attribute of universality*. In fact, one may say that Glotz's whole conception would be endangered if there were no signs in Attic history that the clan was *functionally* anything but a Eupatrid organization, however plausible might be the reasons advanced why what was once a universal organization would tend to emerge later as a Eupatrid organization. The disjunction in Glotz's narrative between the period of the clan and the earliest period in Attic history, in which he represents the clan as limited to the Eupatrids, is hardly tolerable. His case is strengthened if it has been shown that he was wrong in making so large a concession to the Meyer, *et al.* theory of "noble houses" (*Adelsgeschlechter*). At the same time, many of the objections made against his views on the functioning of the early clan, e.g., his view on common ownership of land by the clan, are based on the presupposition that the clan was exclusively Eupatrid. Hence the present paper might be said to lead logically to a reconsideration of the evidence on these questions. In fact, by omitting this next step, the paper is manifestly incomplete; for there is much to be said for the view that if the clan was a universal grouping, there should be signs that its functions were once correspondingly large in scope. There are such signs, and many of them, but they cannot be surveyed and analyzed within present space limits.

In any event, enough has been said about the place of the clan in Greek society

104 Meyer, *Forschungen* (see footnote 36), pp. 518-519.
105 Costello, *op. cit.*, p. 173, note 18.

to make it plain that the ignoring or bypassing of Morgan, where his "Grecian gens" is concerned, is hardly defensible. Reiterating and restating: Glotz and others upholding a conception of the clan and its functioning akin to Morgan's would have done well to have made fewer concessions to Eduard Meyer and similar theorists.[106]

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106 Just at the time when the writer received the galley proofs of this article, there came to his attention the book by George Thomson, *Studies in the History of Ancient Greek Society: the Prehistoric Aegean* (London, 1949). Thomson is a somewhat dogmatic not to say belligerent Marxist, and to me at least, who should probably be classified as a "bourgeois" social scientist (if we must have such classifications), he seems to drag in several extra-scientific considerations when dealing with his material. Nevertheless, I feel that he is entirely right in the immediate substance if not the remoter implications of his attack on E. A. Gardner and F. A. Adcock, who in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 3, do little more than repeat, with minor variations, the contentions of Meyer, Ferguson, and other writers dealt with in the present article. Gardner, in particular, seems blandly indifferent to time-sequences in the evidence, and is taken to task by Thomson thus:

"So far as it goes, . . . [Gardner's statement that the clans stood in no definite relation to the phratries] is perfectly correct, but, since it purports to describe the state of affairs *before* the democratic revolution, when the old system was still in being, the unsuspecting reader should be warned that the evidence on which it rests is taken from the period *after* the revolution, when the old system had been abolished; and once this small but necessary adjustment has been made, the correct conclusion is seen to be the opposite of that which is here described [by Gardner] as certain" (Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109).